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844 When a baby is obviously alive
[787] but does not cry or cry loudly, that child "will grow up to be strong."

Following a normal delivery, the midwife washes the infant in tepid water at once and places it on a soft robe. In some cases [824] a plant (*Parosela formosa*) is added to this water "to keep the child from crying." She rubs a mixture of grease and red ocher [823] over the baby's body to keep the skin from getting sore. Next she strews pollen or ashes to the directions in clockwise circuit [788] beginning with the east and holds the blanket and the child to [424] the directions in the same order. Prayers and practices which mark her individually owned rite accompany this procedure. Meanwhile, others minister to the mother. Particular care is taken in cases of prolapse of the uterus to see that the organ is pushed back into place properly.

844 The afterbirth is gathered together in the robe or piece of old clothing upon which the woman has knelt. With it is put the um-846 bilical cord. These must not be burned or buried. If they are 824 buried and then dug up and consumed by animals, the child is [825] harmed. The approved method of disposal is to place the bundle in a fruit-bearing bush or tree "because the tree comes to life every year, and they want life in this child to be renewed like the life in the tree." Before final disposal, the bundle is blessed by the midwife. To the tree she says, "May the child live and grow up to see you bear fruit many times."[1]

553 At the time of the birth ceremony a name may be suggested [844] for the infant, often by the midwife. However, when nothing unusual marks the birth or distinguishes the newborn baby, the naming may not take place for two or three months. Even when a name is immediately conferred, there is little reason to think that the child will bear it long.

551 When my daughter was born, the midwife gave her a name, but it did
553 not catch on. Then my wife called her "My Daughter." All the others around our camp now do so too. Later, before she is ten or eleven years old, we will give her another name. This is a Chiricahua custom. The baby name is outgrown. One child, for example, is called "Ugly Baby." But she will not be called

[1] One informant claimed that the cord is retained and later eaten by the child, but no verification of this was obtained from others.

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[856] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
[482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline passing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead.
[492] Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
751 badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child, a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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854 Once the child is old enough for the cradleboard, it becomes his almost permanent home for a number of months. This continuous stay in the cradle causes a slight occipital flattening of the head. The baby is laced in tightly and is removed only occasionally. He may even be left in the cradle while he is nursed. He does have to be taken out when the soft grass, moss, or pulverized wild-rose bark, used as padding and as absorbent material for the discharges, needs renewing. To prevent chafing, the child is dusted with powder scraped from the bark of the heart-leafed willow. A very young child is bathed in a decoction obtained by boiling the plant *Drymaria fendleri* "to make the skin strong."

854 As the child becomes more active and restless, beads and jingles of various kinds are strung from the canopy to engage his attention. After he is six or seven months old he is allowed more time outside the cradle and crawls vigorously around the camp.

854 During this crawling stage the child must be carefully watched, lest he come in contact with baneful substances which can cause sickness—worms, certain insects, and feathers from evil birds such as the owl or the crow. Dogs are considered particularly inappropriate in a camp where there is a small child.

> If you have a little child crawling around and suddenly a dog barks at it and scares it, they say that the fright will go inside that child and make its heart sick. So they don't like dogs around much. If you have one, some man might come along and say, "Why do you have that dog around? Don't you know it is no good? It might scare your children and make them sick."

766 When a child is stillborn or dies while it is being carried in the cradle, its body is hastily buried in a talus slope and is covered by rocks, branches, and earth. The cradle, if it has already been made, has a different destination:

> They take the cradle and cut it so it will be recognized; cut slits in the buckskin, for instance. They hang it up in a tree which stands to the east of the encampment where the death took place. No one will dare to touch it. It is forbidden to touch it. If the cradle is still around the camp, it is hung out at the child's death even though the child is already walking when he dies. Sometimes the cradle is put in a place in a bluff.

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867 574 576

a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

861 [865] [776]

The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

861 535 825

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

861 535 865

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them, and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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861 the boys or girls sees it and starts to run. Then the rest look and see the clown
535 coming. The children cry and run back to camp. And the clown will be running
865 after them, trying to hit them with the stick, throwing stones after them, but being careful not to hit them. I'll tell you, those children will not go far from camp any more!

Clowns accompany the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite, and parents of disobedient children, taking advantage of the fears already engendered, arrange to have Gray One "get after" their youngsters at this time.

861 The child is silenced, too, by dark forces, as fearful to adults as
•825 to him:

From the earliest time I can remember I was afraid of the owl. It was not until much later that I knew why—that I knew the owl can cause evil influence to a person. When I was bad, my mother would make me listen to the hooting of the owl. "Listen to that!" she would say, and I would settle down and be quiet. She told me it was a bad animal and would catch me if I were bad.

The clue to the abhorrence for owls emerges in another account:

[775] It was taught to me in camp when I was small that ghosts and owls are related in some way. At night you go out in the woods over there by yourself. If you are a full-blood Chiricahua, you have been taught ever since you were a small child, "Don't ever throw anything at an owl. Never mock an owl. They are dangerous. They are ghosts." If you are out in the woods on a dark night after you have been taught in this way what owls are and you hear them close to you, [753] you certainly are frightened. In those days they claimed Indians used to get very sick from owls, and some shamans had to work to get them well.

861 Other devices for subduing unruly children are used:

865 There was an old man whom I did not like. He used to chase me and catch me whenever he saw me. So, when I was bad, my mother used to say that this old man was coming for me or that she was going to give me away to him.

Sometimes the old man comes to see the recalcitrant child at the parents' request:

When a child is mischievous, they call an old man who looks fierce. He is no relative. The old man limps in with a sack or blanket in his hand. He acts angry and shouts, "What's the matter?"

The father and the mother sit there. They say, "This boy won't obey. He is always fighting. You can take him and do what you wish with him. You can cut off his head or sit on him. We don't care. We aren't going to put up with him any longer." The boy begins to cry.

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

> At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] [825] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote or dog had made him sick.[1] One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] [823] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] [756] [533] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote. They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] [775] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith, Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

[1] Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

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869 765 578 761 When I was little I was told about death. According to what I was taught as far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might have been trouble.

869 764 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on. Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 825 775 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it stopped [hooting].

869 775 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco-buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

825 48 857 [481] A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

We used to chase birds and butterflies. We would let the butterflies go after catching them. Both boys and girls did it. The old people said it would make us fast runners. In wet weather we could catch big birds. Their wings get wet in the rain and they can't go fast.

An unusual type of recreation involves the bat:

The boys used to build a fire at night. When the bats came by, they would throw their moccasins at them. They would get them in the moccasins and kill them. That's how the Indian boys used to play at night.

857 535 86 424 The children imitate many of the social and ceremonial practices of their elders:

During this time Old Man J., a lively old man, used to come out and sing for us while we danced the masked dancer dance in the evening. The old people would be there and watch. We didn't dress up. The old people didn't allow us to dress up, for it was said to bring evil influence. The songs which were sung were N.'s songs. J. would ask him if it would be all right to sing these songs, and N. would tell him to go ahead.

Actually the boys learn much more than the steps and songs of the masked dancers on these occasions. For instance, the exchange between the two old men must have impressed upon them that ceremonial songs are personally owned and that permission must be obtained from the owner before using them. When the children are playing masked dancer away from the camps, they sometimes violate the rule about wearing costumes and make headdresses to wear and wands to carry.

857 [535] Social dances are of increasing interest to the children as they grow older. "We used to dance the circle dance too, just the boys. Sometimes the old men would join in and sing for us. They certainly had a good time watching us."

857 868 [824] The children organize elaborate and dramatic imitations of adult occupations. They hunt, with tall grass as the woods and playmates for the game animals. They go scouting and defend themselves against enemy attacks, using spears made from sunflower and lupine stalks.

857 868 Boys and girls play house in a realistic manner. They build small homes modeled after the regular residences (often making them large enough to enter), play man and wife, entertain visitors to whom they extend the amenities, and arrange feasts with provisions concocted from sticks and mud:

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526 868 857 It is dangerous to make the hoop and pole unless you know how. Not everyone can do it, though there are many who have the right. . . . . Suppose a man knows how to do it. He will be making hoop-and-pole sets for all the men. I am a little boy there, let us say, and he is very kind to me. So I beg him to make a set for us boys, a little one.

He goes ahead and does it, does it with his own ceremony in such a way that it will not harm me. He doesn't want it to harm the children with whom I play either, and so he makes it in a ceremonial way. I suppose he prays over it, but I never watch him. He makes a little one, just the same as the regular ones, only smaller. When he hands it to me, he says, "All right, now you can play with this."

[562] The men take their hoop-and-pole sets out where there is level ground and play there, far from the women. The women know about it and won't go over there. The children never go around the regular grounds either. Even when the men are not playing, the little boys do not go around there. When the little boys play at their hoop-and-pole game, the girls have to keep away.

When a man makes a set for little boys, he instructs them in the rules for counting and keeping score. The men like to watch the little boys playing. Many men will go over where the small boys are playing and stand in groups and watch. Some men count for each side, and all the boys stand there taking lessons.

[525] When the men direct the boys in this game, they tell them it is a gambling game. They say, "If you get to be an expert in this, when you get to manhood you can win horses, weapons, everything."

868 526 857 As soon as the boy is provided with a bow and arrows he spends a great deal of time gaining accuracy in handling them. Arrow games are an effective means to this end, and the boy has a variety of them from which to choose. "You are there all day long. Sometimes you don't care to eat, you are so interested."

[825 411] The arrows used in play "are just common ones made with any feathers—bluebird feathers, flicker feathers, feathers from any kind of bird the size of a robin or larger. Some of them are well made; you can shoot big animals with them if you have a good bow. They put three feathers on the shaft."

The simplest form of arrow game is shooting for distance, the winner collecting the arrows of his outdistanced playmates. Shooting for accuracy takes a number of forms. In one game a boy shoots his arrow into a bank, and his companion shoots after him, trying to touch or "cross" the arrow of the first boy. Should he succeed, he takes both arrows, and the loser has to send an-

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868 857 Boys begin their interest in horsemanship while they are still very young:

The Chiricahua would hobble their horses way off in the woods. A boy would play with the horse when no one was watching. Children from seven years of age and on would go and learn by themselves when the older people didn't even know about it. There were always some gentle horses for the boys to ride. I would crawl on a horse when I was about seven. I used to put my foot on his leg, get hold of his mane, and crawl up on his back. Sometimes I fell off again, but after a while I would get on the horse's back.

868 857 224 When the boy is sufficiently strong to handle a bow and arrows, some member of the extended family—the father, the mother's brother, or the grandfather—provides him with them and gives him the necessary advice.

When I was small I didn't know how to make a bow and arrows myself. My father said, "First, I'm going to make you learn how to hunt." He made a bow and arrows for me. Children use a small wooden arrow with a wooden point, but they can shoot a long way with it, for they have a good bow.

My father said, "Go ahead, son, and shoot birds and squirrels and any small things. But, before you try, I must tell you that these little birds and animals are not tame. They see you just as soon as you come in sight of them. The squirrels, as soon as they see you come anywhere near them, run away. You must see the squirrel before it sees you. You can't just run up to squirrels and shoot them, because they are wild. If you have to crawl to get where your arrow can hit a squirrel, do it.

"A bird is the same way. If he is over there on a limb, you must come around so that you can get within range of him. Part of the time you must crawl, because he is watching, and in that way you can get within range and shoot him. In hunting you must go very slowly and softly, not rattling stones with your feet or making rocks roll down a steep place. Go carefully; creep up to your game.

"It will be just the same when you hunt deer. Then you will still have to go slyly and carefully. Deer can see you before you see them. The deer places himself where he can see very well. You must look for him. You must go slyly up to him as if you were a fox. It's the same if you are hunting antelopes or any other animals; you must be very cautious."

That is the teaching for a little boy when he is given a bow and arrows. So I did these things, and it worked out exactly as he said.

• [825] [789] Most adults, when they present the boy with his first bow, advise him to swallow whole the raw heart of the first kill he makes to guarantee continued abundance from the hunt.

000 But no amount of good advice will prepare a youth for hunting

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At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

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On the mask, at the forehead or nose region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise. One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength, and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the abalone."

At its top the hood is attached to the horns[1] or uprights by spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which vertical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings." These strike against one another, making a sound that has become a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);[2] red "would be used only by a witch on a masked-dancer horn."

The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to sing for the masked dancers.

But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further, for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fiction of their purely social function at the puberty rite is maintained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a private matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

[1] That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guardianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[2] Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood—have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.—Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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832 ceremony. He got a young woman with it. Everybody knows he influenced her.
578 She chased him all around, day and night, when she was a young girl. He's much
• 825 older than she is. That girl was very pretty and he was ugly. They think he used butterflies. They say that he has been helping some other people with his power too. I've heard young fellows talking about it.

And they talk about another man that way too. It shows. He has two wives, one in secret. He's not good-looking; he hasn't anything. That's how you know. Some suspected N. of having love power because he had two wives. Some even suspect C. They say he's got a pretty fair-looking wife and doesn't do anything. They say anything about you these days.

They think that the time to perform this ceremony is in spring or midsummer when the butterfly is out. Then it works easier.

832 In an expansive mood, one man revealed that in his younger days he was "so lucky with the girls that many said it was love power." He added, however, "I swear that I never had one little bit of this power."

832 But there are practitioners who do carry on such ceremonies:
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There are people who can make others love you. Their work is not considered a disgrace like that of a witch. If you are a man, you go to one of them and say that you want a certain woman. You must pay these people.

[82] In the ceremony they use the sun, the butterfly, and water. When they want to influence you, they splash water on you with the hand. Sometimes they have something shiny to flash in your eyes. Sometimes they take a piece of your clothing or your hair—something of yours is needed to work with. They sing to the sun. They think that the sun can stretch a net like a spider's net and catch a person in it.

I had a friend, an old man, who used to boast to me that he had such power. He married a young girl. I asked, "How did you get your wife?" He said, "I used power." I believed him because it looked queer to me. He was not good-looking either. He said that when he prayed to a girl he made her put on the nature of a butterfly. She would then fly here and there, take no responsibility, and have no worry about the future, and so you could make love to her.

[823] The use of water is especially interesting, for the term meaning
[192] love power, while it does not yield to linguistic analysis in entirety, is evidently related to the word for water.

Concerning the reality of a love ceremony another informant said:

There was a man at Whitetail who knew the ceremony pretty well. He died about 1919. . . . . The old man, if I liked a girl, could be hired to get her for me. He would sing over the girl for me, and when he finished, the girl would come right in and sit down. Then she would love me forever and never leave me.

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Women, as well as men, claim to control this power: 832 791

T.'s wife has this ceremony. Once when she was full of tiswin she promised to show me what she knew about it. She sang one of the butterfly songs for me. I couldn't get on to it, for I heard it only once. In the morning when she was sober she changed her mind and wouldn't show me any more. In these ceremonies the caterpillar and rope are used with the butterfly. If the butterfly is put in your bed during such a ceremony, you're a "goner"; you are "charmed." [825]

Another ramification of love power is its relation to deer ceremonies: 832 [825]

The man who knows the ceremony of the deer is good at love medicine, they say. He gets any young girl. He will always be poor though. He never has anything but his loincloth, but the girl loves him just the same. [791] [735]

If a person is under the influence of the love ceremony and eats meat from a deer's head, it will cause his own head to swell up. [262]

The main outlines of the love ceremony are now clear. The desired one, lured by flageolet music, is to become as aimless and irresponsible as the butterfly and is to be enmeshed in a net of "ropes" of the sun (sunbeams, sometimes symbolized by pieces of cord). Contact with the person to be influenced is important. Water may be playfully splashed upon him; a beam of light may be directed toward him from some shiny object (another form of the sun motif); a sticky leaf may be flicked at him; a butterfly or a caterpillar may be dropped in his bed; a piece of his clothing or a strand of his hair may be secured. 832 82

The emphasis of the ceremony is upon disarming any contrary will and securing fast the one desired. This explains the seeming intrusion of deer power. The deer ceremony has broadly similar objectives—to induce the animal to be tractable and to hold it in a place from which it may easily be taken. By substituting an object of affection for the game animal, the deer ceremony becomes quite as effective for another purpose. But here a choice must be made. One who decides to use his deer ceremony for love rather than for sustenance will remain poor in material things. 832 825 182 [735]

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FOLK BELIEFS, MEDICAL PRACTICE AND SHAMANISM

FOLK BELIEFS, MUSCULAR TREMORS, AND DREAMS

ALL items of belief are by no means of equal importance. They range in significance from the trivial to those basic for the ceremonies. Many of them are of no great moment and, indeed, may be uttered half in jest.

753 522 431 They say in the way of a joke that you get a rash from giving things and taking them back all the time. You have to put ashes on the rash, which is called "lice sew you up." If you are stingy, the person from whom you take things says, "I wish you'd get warts" [such warts should be cut off with sinew], or, "I wish you'd get the rash."

827 787 Sneezing, which indicates that "someone is thinking of you," may also be treated jokingly:

[522] Upon sneezing, they say, "I am still here for you," or, "Sometime we will see each other again, sweetheart." Once two old men and I were together. One sneezed, and he made this remark. The other told him, "Nobody is thinking of you, you old fool! All that means is that you're catching cold."

Yet some regard the sneeze as an ominous sign and pray to the culture hero or exclaim, "May it be well!"

When the ear rings, "someone is talking about you," and young people think the speaker is one of their admirers. Some persons regard a frequent buzzing in the ear as a sign that good news will be heard; others say it is the calling of a dead relative.

[821] A burning sensation in the ear is a harbinger of cold weather.

821 Rings around the sun and moon indicate change of weather, rain, or snow. Rain will come if a horned toad or a snake is killed

[825] and turned on its back, if a dog rolls on the ground, if there is a good deal of drumming in the camps or much singing of masked-dancer songs. Smoke from a big fire kindled on a still night will cause clouds to gather. The crescent moon "is draining" when its tip is pointed downward, and rain falls. "A dark, heavy, pouring rain is male; a light rain when the horizon seems bright

[831] nevertheless is called female rain."

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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dreams of the dead and of their return.[1] But from other sources this omission (owing perhaps to fear of dwelling upon such a dangerous topic) is repaired. "If you see a dead person in your sleep, you're not going to last long," said one informant. So feared are such dreams that special precautions are often taken to prevent them: "Clothing, especially moccasins and hats, should not be put above or under the pillow or about the head of the bed at night, for this causes dreams about ghosts."

The importance attached to dreams other than these varies from individual to individual:

> Some people are very much guided by dreams. Some people are recognized as very true dreamers. But I have just ordinary dreams. All my dreams are about raids: I am always running away from Mexicans. I also dream a great deal about dances. I am always in there dancing. I recognize a Mescalero woman in there, and I am always dancing with her. Sometimes I am standing there and I wonder, "Why doesn't someone dance with me?"
>
> My dreams run on the order of war. Long ago the government had Western Apache scouts to track down the Chiricahua. I dream that they are making a raid on my people. I am trying to get away from them. I climb into a tree, and then I always wake up.

Still another commentator disclaimed any reliance on dreams for himself. "I can dream plenty of things, some good and some bad, and I don't pay any attention to them." But this same man admitted that the dream could act as a vision experience and guardian spirit for others, whom he called dream shamans, saying:

> We must be dream shamans, like P., to know what these dreams mean. Only the one who knows, who gets a vision with it, is all right. You can get more of this from P. He's an old man. He's about the oldest man here. He believes his dreams are true. When he dreams about the peccary, it means something bad. When he dreams about deer, it means something good.[2]

[1] There are two kinds of "death dreams." To dream of the death of living persons is made psychologically acceptable by interpreting it to mean the opposite. But dreams of the return or the sight of the dead are among the most harrowing of experiences.

[2] It is interesting that the good omen, deer, an animal much sought by the hunter, should be contrasted with the peccary, an animal that most Chiricahua will not taste.

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shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths. [821 756 778]

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons. [805]

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning): [821 776]

This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.

Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People. [823 772]

. . . . They are persons and you can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. . . . . The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself. [778]

The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky: [773]

During a thunderstorm we go, "*pi3, pi3*," in imitation of the bird called *pi3e* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too. [825 789]

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821 [789] [539] Another thing to do when the lightning flashes is to make a spitting noise and say, "Let it be well, my brother, Lightning," or to say, "Strike high, my brother." Thunder you call grandfather when it hits close. When lightning is very close and sounds just as if it is going to tear up the ground, you say:

"Continue in a good way;
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people."

[753] Sickness induced by or through Thunder is frequent, and special practices and curative rites have grown up to cope with such disorders.

773 776 821 823 Through the mythology an association is established between water and lightning. In most versions of the birth of the culture hero, his mother is impregnated by Water, but in one variant Lightning strikes at the divine woman four times and thus causes her to conceive Child of the Water. Another version, after describing the impregnation by Water, relates that Lightning tests the hero, discovers him to be his son, and later helps him conquer a giant.

Another myth tells of a quarrel between Thunder and Wind concerning their respective abilities. They separate, to the great detriment of the earth. Finally a meeting is arranged, and, with Sun as mediator, they agree to labor together once more. As an aftermath:

The breathing of the thunder created four persons, and these were sent out in the four directions, and they were told that, whenever the earth trembles, they should come to the center. Lightning and Wind used their power to make the earth as it was before, with green grass and the proper amount of water.

773 776 825 The existence of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and natural forces sets the stage for the appearance of the animals of the mythological period. These animals look and talk like men. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, turns benefactor for a short interval by stealing fire from those who have hoarded it and spreads it throughout the world. But, by opening a bag which he has been told to leave untouched, Coyote looses darkness. This is acceptable only to the night prowlers and fierce animals; the birds and the small harmless creatures

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desire daylight. The moccasin game—a game of the hidden-ball variety—is arranged to determine whether day shall come; the victors are to dispatch the vanquished. The side of the birds wins, and the horizon to the east brightens. A few of the losers escape—the snake, the owl, and the bear—and these are still considered dangerous creatures.

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During this epoch Coyote makes death inevitable for mankind by throwing a stone into the water and declaring that, if it sinks, living beings shall ultimately die. Coyote's behavior during this prehuman horizon creates a "path" that man has been obliged to follow. All that man does "Coyote did first." Gluttony, lying, theft, adultery, incest, and all the other faults and foibles were introduced by Coyote and have become inescapable for those who "follow Coyote's trail."

Next are introduced White Painted Woman, Child of the Water, and Killer of Enemies. White Painted Woman has existed from the beginning. Killer of Enemies' place in the time sequence is less certain; he is variously described as a brother of White Painted Woman, an older son, a twin brother of Child of the Water, and even, in one variant, as the husband of White Painted Woman and therefore the stepfather of the culture hero. In the most representative versions he appears as an older brother of Child of the Water, already grown when the culture hero is born.

During this period White Painted Woman and Killer of Enemies share the earth with human beings and with monsters who prey upon the human beings and prevent them from thriving. One of them, a giant, carries his depredations to White Painted Woman herself and consumes a number of children she attempts to rear. Finally she is impregnated by Water and gives birth to Child of the Water, who is protected from Giant by being hidden under the earth and by other stratagems. Child of the Water grows with miraculous speed, and soon the brothers are prepared to hunt together. On the hunt they encounter Giant, and Child of the Water slays his colossal foe. This is the first adventure of a series during which he destroys the other monsters: the giant eagles, the dangerous buffalo bull, and the antelope which can

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tures of a ceremony. He learns what functions the rite can perform, what ceremonial presents to request from those in whose behalf it is exercised, what restrictions to impose on patients, what design elements, what paraphernalia, what sacred substances to employ. He may be advised to wait a certain number of months or years, or until he receives some signal from his power before using the ceremony. Therefore, "even a man's wife may not suspect he knows the ceremony" until the auspicious moment arrives.

After the ceremony has been learned and the understanding with the power source has been established, the new shaman is conducted to the point from which he started, or he finds himself suddenly transported there.

The nature and sources of supernatural power.—Supernatural power is, in the largest sense, the animating principle of the universe, the life-force. Again and again, shamans have terminated a discussion of the authenticity of power by exclaiming, "It is alive! It speaks to me!"

Since it is the office of beneficial supernatural power to perpetuate life, it must find ways in which to heal, warn, and guard mankind. These mediums are the familiar channels—the animals, the birds, the personified supernaturals, and others. The manner in which some of these channels themselves contribute to life and health is self-evident. Venison is a staple necessary to maintain life. Therefore, supernatural power working through the personified essence of the deer is a logical source of a ceremony to make the deer obedient to human needs. Or, since the mountain lion is a mighty hunter, power obtained by contact with the personification of this animal may be useful to the same end.

But the maintenance of well-being is not alone a matter of procuring food. Inimical forces and creatures must be counteracted. When, for instance, someone has been bitten or frightened by a snake, a snake shaman is hired to use a ceremony derived from a supernatural experience with Snake to force the reptile to repair the damage it has wrought. This lends a homeopathic flavor to the ritual practices, in which a snake ceremony

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756 is expected to cure snake sickness, a horse ceremony is used for
755 anyone thrown from a horse, and a deer rite is employed to bring
• 825 luck in the hunt. However, the horse shaman may feel that his ritual can do other things besides procuring new horses, finding lost ones, and healing those injured in mishaps with horses. The logic of some of these extensions is not always self-evident.

756 The medium through which supernatural power appears to a
778 person is always considered by him to be "alive" and capable of active communication with him. But this does not mean that only animate beings, in the ordinary sense of the word, are considered as possible sources of supernatural power. Any object or force of the external world is potentially animate for the candidate for supernatural power. Moreover, some object which is alive and communicative for one person need represent no such qualities for another:

> [823] Some say that the earth talks to them. They get their ceremony from that. Some say the wind has life. Some say the mountains, like the San Andreas, have life. Anyone who gets power from it says, "That mountain talks to me." The old people tell stories that show that all things have life—trees, rocks, the wind, mountains. One believes that there is a cliff where the Mountain People stay and that they open the cliff and talk to him. I have heard old men say that trees, rocks, and mountains have life.

[827] An instance of the latitude permitted in such assertions is the
[789] case of a man who claimed to receive special knowledge from his own anal flatulence. This evidently acted more as a sign, comparable to muscular tremor and the dream, than as a true ceremony. Yet a number of informants have seen in this man's abil-
[525] ity a variety of supernatural power. At any rate he is alleged to have used it in games of chance.

In spite of such novel developments, the revelations of power tend to cluster about certain familiar animals, natural forces, plants, and supernaturals.

There is no definite arrangement of powers in order of efficacy. Power derived from "a little thing"—an insect, for instance—may prove to be of inestimable value. And, since the effectiveness of power depends so much upon the relations between the shaman and the source, the same kind of power—from lightning,

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ORIGINS OF DISEASE

753 825 *Contaminating animals.*—Ailments which do not yield to ordinary herbal remedies or to decoctions ritually administered are thought to have been contracted from unclean animals or from animals or supernaturals capable of sending disease when offended, defied, or instigated by malevolent forces. It is to combat sickness of this kind that the intricate curing ceremonies are reserved.

753 825 828 There are different ways in which the disease reaches the individual:

Here are three ways that you can get sickness from an animal or from some other source. One is by getting scared. This is typical of owl disease. It is the thrill of terror, the moment of cold fright, that is really the entrance of the evil influence into your body. You might have such an experience and not be sick for months. Then, when you get sick you remember. You say, "Ah, that is when it happened, when I was so frightened." Another way is by smell, odor. Bear and lightning sickness may be spread in this way. Another way is touch. Contact with hides of the evil animals such as the bear, wolf, and coyote will give you the disease.

753 825 The greatest caution is observed toward animals and forces which can do so much harm:

If a Chiricahua tells a story about a bear or any animal or thing that can sicken him, at the end he says, "I'm talking about pollen and all kinds of fruit. Let everything be as good as ever." He makes believe that he isn't talking about that animal.

Formerly the Chiricahua would seldom say the regular word for bear. They would call it "mother's sibling." It doesn't like to be called by the regular word. It gets after you when you say that. Bear is also called "wide foot" and "large buttocks." It likes to be called "ugly buttocks" too. We call the thunder "grandfather" and the snake "yellow flowers." We spit when lightning flashes.

Of the animals which are unreservedly dangerous to those who do not "know" their supernatural power, the most important are the bear, the coyote, the snake, and the owl.

Bear.—The general attitude toward the bear, the manner in which bear disease is contracted, and some of the symptoms of the ailment are described by one man as follows:

[262] The bear, like the coyote, causes evil influence. It is killed only in self-defense, for no bear meat is eaten and we are afraid to skin a bear. If you come in

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contact with the track of a bear, or a tree where a bear has leaned, or bear manure, or if you sleep where a bear has sat down, or if you come in contact with a bear by smell or touch, you can get sick. 953 825

The smell is very important. As soon as it gets in a person through smell, that person is under evil influence. If a person does not come in contact with a bear but is scared by a bear, it causes sickness too. The condition of fright that a man gets in causes his sickness. [828]

A person suffering from bear sickness gets run down. It seems like he is smelling that bear all the time. At night he is always dreaming that he has hardly got away from a bear that is chasing him, or something like that. . . . . Bear sickness often shows up in a deformity, in a crooked arm or leg. [732]

Should the path of a bear be accidently crossed, an attempt is made to deceive the bear about it. "If you have to cross the tracks of a bear, you say, 'It was a year ago.' It is the custom to say that to make it appear that it happened a long time ago, so the evil influence will keep away."

Specific symptoms equated with the characteristics of the bear mark the onset of bear sickness:

When a man is sick from bear, he acts like a bear. First he gets a pain all over his body. Then his mouth is twisted, and he bites. His whole face twists. His body swells.

Long ago at Fort Stanton two men got sick from bear and died. These two men were out. It was snowing. There was a big pine tree. A bear had been there. The two men slept there all night. They got sick from it. Their arms went behind their backs, and they growled like bears. I saw them when they were sick. They tried to bite me.

A long time ago, when I was a child, I was playing in a cave where a bear had lived. Pretty soon I got sick. I got tired, wanted to lie down, and foam came out of my mouth as it does from the mouth of a bear when he is tired. They had a ceremony performed for me, and I got better. The shaman sang, and I got well that same night. [755]

Coyote, wolf, fox, dog.—The coyote, if he is molested, can, at the very least, bring bad luck or an accident: 825 777 752

Our dog ran ahead [after a coyote]. Suddenly the dog doubled his tracks and ran right in front of S.'s horse. The horse went over as S. tried to avoid the dog, and S. fell and hit his head. He didn't come to for a long time. We were far away from anyone, and I didn't have any water. All I could do was sit there and hold his head and fan him with my hat. By and by he came to. That's what the old men say about coyotes; they say that Coyote is bad and that something always happens to you if you go after one.

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753 More serious is a disease, marked by deformity, which Coyote
732 is capable of causing:

825 When a person has it, his face gets lopsided with the mouth pointing one way. Or he gets cross-eyed, or his legs or hands get cramped. There is a disfiguration somewhere. You can get it from a coyote—from touch or fright or smell, or from crossing its tracks. We kill coyotes sometimes, but we don't touch the skins.

Eye defects, particularly, are attributed to coyote sickness. "One man whose eyeballs turn up told me that his eyes were all right until he used a coyote skin for a rug. Since then his eyes have been bad."

753 The coyote shares his evil reputation with the wolf and the
825 fox. Most informants class the three together and claim that the ceremony that will cure sickness from one of them will serve for illness brought by the others. There is a definite feeling that the fox is the least dangerous of the trio and that the coyote is the
[763] most baneful. The appearance of a fox, however, is taken as an omen of impending death: "Gray Fox . . . . is connected with death. If at dark Fox goes near some camps, that means that someone in that group is going to die."

In the following discussion the nexus between wolf sickness and the evil influence of the coyote is made clear:

[777] The wolf, coyote, and fox . . . . bring bad luck and make you sick, even if you
[732] only touch them or smell their breath. Such contact deforms a person, making him cross-eyed, turning his lips, and making him twitch. At Fort Sill an old lady had her dog follow a wolf. The woman went after the wolf in order to help her dog, and she pulled the wolf, which was in a hole, by the hind leg. She became
[755] ill. She began to get cross-eyed and to shake, and her lips became crooked. Geronimo was living then, and he sang over her and cured her.[19]

231 Of dogs the people say: "We didn't have dogs in the old days.
177 Dogs make a lot of noise. The Chiricahua were on the run and couldn't have them." "We have had them only since contact
231 with the whites." Evidently the dog was at first greatly feared:
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825 The dog was classed with the coyote, wolf, and fox. We felt that all of them could cause you trouble. We wouldn't touch the skin of a dead dog. When you have a disease from a dog, the saliva comes down as it does with a mad dog. You get a little crazy and go, "Aaaa!"

[19] Geronimo's coyote power ceremony (pp. 40–41) is probably what was used on this occasion.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either."

Snake.[11]—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

[11] The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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753 825 On the banks of Medicine Creek at Fort Sill I went fishing. I left my cap on a bank. I went back to the village. The next day I went to look for my cap. I found it and wiped off the sweat from my face with the cap.

753 755 825 The next day my face was swollen. My relatives did not know what was wrong. They consulted an old shaman, a woman. She could trace everything from her singing. She said prayers and sang four songs over me. No one knew what was wrong. While she sang, she saw a cap on a bank. It was mine. While she was looking at it, she saw something moving and coiling around inside the cap. My relatives asked me about my cap. I told them what had happened. Then the old lady knew what had happened. A water moccasin had got into my cap.

753 825 There are many ways of contracting the disease:

[761] A person gets sick by being bitten. . . . . The sloughed skin of the snake will also cause the sickness. If I pick up the skin where I am weeding, it causes death too. A person can get sick from being scared by a rattlesnake. . . . . A person gets sick from smelling the snake. If a person lies where a snake has been, he gets sick from that.

[578] Mention of the snake is usually avoided except in invective: "The snake is used in quarreling. Sometimes people say, 'I wish a snake would bite you!' " But this, too, has its dangers:

If a man says in anger, "I hope a snake bites you," he will get sick from snakes. He has a bad mouth. Before this the snakes have not bothered him, but he's got a bad mouth, and it's bound to make him sick.

The fate of an impious man who defied the precepts for commercial gain is told today:

Every spring white spots used to come around that man's mouth. It happened right up to the time of his death. This is because he did things against the Chiricahua's way. He went around and fooled with rattlesnakes. Many people living here have seen what would happen to his mouth every spring.

He used to catch rattlesnakes and skin them and sell the skins. He was a strong man, and he used to grab them in the back of the neck and strangle them to death. Then he'd skin that snake. He'd take out his knife and cut it open. He'd put one end of the skin in his mouth, with the blood and fat all over him and streaming down his face, and he'd pull at it to separate the skin from the rest. He used to call to other people, "Come here! Get hold of this!" But no one would go near him. After that he got sick from it and got these white spots every spring. The Chiricahua doesn't want to have anything to do with snakes. I know I don't even want to look at a rattlesnake.

825 231 Even animals are susceptible to the malignant influence of snakes:

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We had a good sheep dog. She found a nest of small snakes and ate them. Then she got so mean we couldn't do anything with her. We were afraid of her. She wouldn't obey and would come running at you. We had to shoot her.

825 152 [869]

Owl and ghost.—Fear of the owl, initially communicated to children by the very panic of their elders, grows in intensity with the passage of time. It is said: "Coyote and the snake are about the same, but the owl is most dreaded." "The Chiricahua are afraid to say anything about owls or to tell stories of owls." Nor can the presence of an owl around camp be treated with indifference:

If an owl hangs around your camp, you can take a burning stick from the fire and throw it in the owl's direction. Some would shoot at these birds. But a man who had power from that bird wouldn't shoot at it. He would be praying to it. He would know what it was around for.

When my wife and baby and I are in sheep camp and the owl begins to hoot, we don't like it. My wife often asks me to chase it. Sometimes a little child gets scared. We don't like an owl around when children are sleeping.

A typical reaction to the sight of an owl is that of the old woman of this narrative:

My sheepherder is a Shawnee Indian. Not long ago he killed an owl and brought it into my camp. We didn't notice what he was doing. An old woman was there. It was about twenty minutes before she knew what it was. She thought it was an eagle at first. Finally she asked me what it was, and I looked and told her it was an owl. Then she blew up and began to scold. "Throw that thing away! It's going to cause you evil influence," she said. I said, "Not me, but that fellow who is handling it." "Yes, you, for you have it in your camp," she answered.

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The owl is so greatly feared because it is the form assumed by another agent of disease and malevolence; it is the materialization of the ghost:

Once I was riding along with Old N. and we heard an owl. N. was a brave man, but he got so scared he nearly fell off the horse. I said, "Why, that's only a bird!" "Don't say that!" N. told me. "It's a ghost. It comes out of the grave and it goes back."

The proper destination of the shades of the deceased is the underworld, where it is hoped they will continue another existence oblivious of the living on the earth above. Their materialization as owls can indicate only an evil purpose:

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825 775 The owl represents the spirit or ghost of a person who was bad during his life and continues to be vicious after death. He works by entering the body of an owl and exercises evil influence in this way. Those who were desperate in life, such people as murderers and those who were given to jokes of a rough nature, are the ones likely to assume such a form after death.

This is what I heard in my young days—I remember my father telling me of it. Our belief is that, when the Chiricahua who has been a bad one dies, he turns to an owl. We believe that the bad ones go right into the owl at death, at once. The others who were good through life go to the underworld.

Since the owl is the ghost of a malicious human being, its hoot is interpreted as a dire warning:

I'm not so much afraid to kill an owl or even to handle it; it's the call! When I was in sheep camp, I listened closely and it seemed to me that it was talking the Chiricahua language. Some say they hear it say, "I'm going to drink your blood!" My wife says it sounds that way to her. Some say it sounds like, "I'm one of your relatives." To me it sounds like, "I'm a Mescalero." Some believe that dead relatives are in the form of the owl. They don't want to hear it. It's not the owl itself which is the dead person, but the voice. The owl always fools around the place where a person has died.

825 775 753 These "words" of the owl can cause sickness through fright:

If you hear an owl, you know a ghost is near by, for the owl is connected with the ghost. The ghost uses him, goes into his body. Owls talk the Chiricahua language. They say different things to different people. To me it seems like they are saying, "All your people are going to get killed." The call of the owl is very powerful. It can get into your body and cause trouble.

Most people, feeling that direct reference to evil invites its appearance, are unwilling to speak of owl or ghost sickness. Therefore, because ghosts and owls are both particularly active at night, the malady which they bring is most often designated "darkness sickness."

825 775 753 781 [761] An actual encounter with an owl is a harrowing experience:

The Chiricahua are afraid of the owl. It is because the owl stays around the place where people have died, and when it comes it is a sign that someone is going to die. Many people, when they hear the call of the owl, get frightened and faint. My wife went through an experience with the owl. About a hundred paces from her my wife saw a person in black. This person was walking toward her. When it got close, it changed to an owl and flew at her. When it flew up, it tried to sit on her head. She fought off the owl, and it flew away. I wasn't at home at the time. When I came home my wife was still trembling. I knew a ceremony toward the owl, and so I performed it and made her well again.

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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

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Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that.

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It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

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When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

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The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you 648
see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican 753
ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not uti- [825]
lize the body of the owl to further its designs.

Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its 825
bite:

If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiri- [761]
cahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead.

B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 825
1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it 753
bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it."

An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the 825
turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would [778]
handle it."

Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [753]
[i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little [533]
but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . All [796]
Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill. [863]

One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon: 825
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K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him. [761]

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825 753 761 Later the stricken man died, and another informant observed:

If the vinegarroon gets in your clothes or urinates on you, red marks come out on your body, and if they go around and meet, it kills you. K. was affected by it. He claimed it got in his clothes. It usually breaks out on your shoulder.

A small black water beetle is held accountable for a well-nigh fatal sickness which results when it is swallowed accidentally. Great care is taken, therefore, to see that the drinking water contains none of these insects. Even horses are not exempt from this illness: "If you swallow one, it will kill you. I have seen 755 horses swallow it and die. I don't know any cure for it except to ask some shaman to sing for you."

To be bitten by a centipede causes alarm, for "after it stings you, you'll live one day for each leg it has. I've never heard of a cure for this."

Crow, eagle, buzzard, parrot.—A number of birds besides the owl are considered possible sources of peril, and prominent among these is the crow. One man warned against carrying crow feathers and added, "They say it makes you sick to touch its droppings or anything from it." The opinion is supported by other testimony:

411 237 The Chiricahua doesn't use crow feathers for arrows. Crow is one of the worst of all. The sickness you get from Crow is worse than sickness from any other bird its size. In the old days the Chiricahua wouldn't kill a crow. They didn't like the crow to fly around. They were afraid to imitate it just as they were afraid to imitate the call of the owl. The crow is not connected with dead people like the owl, but when the crow comes around they say it means that someone is going to die; they think it is a bad sign.

A certain ambivalence in attitude toward the eagle exists. 237 Eagle feathers are prized for use in ceremonial contexts. But, 262 because eagles "catch lizards and snakes," the people "can't eat the kill of the eagle" (this taboo extends to the kill of hawks as well) and "are afraid of them, wouldn't touch them." It is primarily contact with the talons or bill of the eagle that is feared.

The negative reaction has left its impress on a story of a boy who climbs a cliff, finds an eagle's nest, and brings down an eaglet. He rears the bird and teaches it to hunt for him; but when he first reaches home with it, the people say to him,

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"Throw it away! It will make you sick!" A similar attitude is reflected in this statement:

When you are sick the shaman may tell you that you have slept on an eagle feather or something like that which has made you ill. You could get sick from the eagle. And there were people [shamans] who knew about that.

Lots of people even felt that it was a bad sign to have an eagle fly around the camps in the old days. When birds are supposed to be wild and to live out in the mountains, they shouldn't come around where people live. It looked to the Chiricahua as if they were being sent when they did come, as if they were a bad sign.

But there are also those who express no fear of the eagle. "Eagle feathers are thought to give a person strength. The eagle is not regarded like a coyote [i.e., inherently evil]." Moreover, eagles are trapped and killed for their feathers, and eaglets are occasionally reared in cages until they can be plucked.

In general an unfavorable overtone and some fear mark comments about the buzzard:

Some are afraid of the buzzard. I remember that, when I'd go to pick up a buzzard feather, my father would call out, "Drop that feather!" Most Chiricahua do not think much about buzzards until they have a ceremony performed over them and a shaman gives them some directions about it, such as not to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or something like that. But these restrictions are not true for every Chiricahua; they are not general.

Another bird that is viewed with circumspection is the parrot:

The Chiricahua were not very familiar with parrots. Once in a while they saw them in Mexico. Only a few people have seen the parrot. They know it mocks you, and they don't like to be around it. They are afraid of it. They say, "Why is it that a bird imitates people? There must be something to it." I have heard people say, "If a bird talks, there must be a witch in him."

Horse, mule, spider, Thunder People, Mountain People.—There are a few creatures and supernaturals which are to be feared only if they are somehow offended. The horse and the mule, the spider, the Thunder People, and the Mountain People comprise this list. Of the first two, it is said:

If you mistreat a horse, if you hit it on the head repeatedly, it may take revenge on you. It will cause you to get sick. Then you must go to a shaman who specializes in the ceremony of the horse. The mule is bad if you mistreat it; it will cause you to be sick too. The man who knows the horse cures both kinds of sickness.

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825 [753] The "sickness" brought by the horse is the injury suffered in an accident for which a horse is held responsible.

If the spider or its web is not molested, there is no need to worry about this insect. But, as an informant explained, "We are all taught not to kill spiders. The spider has power and can do harm if angered."

The Chiricahua will not walk into a spider web. They call the strands of the web sunbeams and say that, if you damage these, Sun will make a web inside you [821] and kill you. The spider web is connected with the sun because it looks just like a sun as it hangs there.

825 783 If you kill a spider, the same thing will happen. If you do kill a spider, there is a rule to follow. If I should kill one, I'd say what I have heard many older people say, "The president killed you." Or they name a white man or someone they don't like—anyone as long as it is not themselves. It's a lie but they do it. They put it off on someone else. This is done, too, when you kill any dangerous insect, like a beetle or a centipede. The danger in killing or injuring a spider is that the next spider will miss the one you killed or hurt and come and harm or bite you.

753 821 [776] The most obvious evidence that the Thunder People are displeased with an individual occurs when he is actually struck by lightning. However, fright is again a powerful sickening agent: "The scare harms you." Lightning is said to be accompanied by an odor which comes from the powder or smoke that arises where it strikes. This powder, if it is inhaled, manifests itself in the ailment recognized as "lightning sickness."

The smoke or dust causes harm as well as the fright. This settles in the body. Lightning sickness affects you inside the body; it affects the stomach. When a person has lightning sickness, he vomits and has a little fever. His feet and hands are cold. He feels sickly and is in poor health generally. Then he should go to a shaman and have a lightning ceremony performed; the sooner the better for him.

A young man described his illness after lightning had struck close to him:

It was so close that I had breathed in all the lightning powder. About two weeks after that I began to be sick. I couldn't eat, and they took me to the hospital. I was sick to my stomach all the time. . . . . I didn't get any better before I went home. My mother-in-law said right away to my wife, "He has the lightning sickness. That powder he breathed in from the lightning has settled in his stomach and turned to frog spittle [i.e., the green growth on stagnant water]."

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it:

When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed. [822]

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth. [264]

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off. [231]

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it. [825]

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The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punishment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked-dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time." [732] [535] [784] [828]

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Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They become unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way." [834] [732]

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command and announces where and when the ceremony is to take place. He is free to enlist the help of the sufferer's relatives and he may direct them to build a special shelter with the door facing the east or to gather paraphernalia and plants.

. Many shamans, as a part of the ceremony, impose restrictions upon those who wish to watch the proceedings:

> Some shamans don't allow barefooted people around when they are working, but not all are like this. Some don't allow you to scratch if you want to stay, but not all are like this either. Some tell you that you can't sleep while the ceremony is in progress. When we came to Geronimo's ceremonies he would warn us not to scratch or we would get a choking sensation then and there.

It is usually the close relatives, affinities, and good friends of the patient who are present. If the shaman is known for his dramatic performance, persons particularly attracted to religious spectacles also seek entrance. The shaman decides who may attend. Often fear of impiety or of witchcraft is a selective factor.

The ceremony ordinarily lasts four days, and the events open to the public take place on four consecutive nights, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. These are not inflexible rules, however. Food—often an abundant feast—is provided by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance.

Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association with the power source.

> Usually, when a person gets power through some animal, he has four tokens of the animal with which he works—perhaps the hide, claws, tail, and paw. If his power is from lightning, lightning-struck twigs may be there. If the power comes from a bird, perhaps the tail feathers of that bird will have a place in the ceremony.

There are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost every ceremony:

> A shaman has pollen, paints, herbs, and a drum. Eagle feathers are usually used. Some wear a cap or a vest of buckskin when they sing. Some have a tray basket at their ceremonies with pollen, paint, and eagle feathers in it.

Pollen, the symbol of life and renewal, is omnipresent on ritual occasions. Tule pollen is used most, but the power may request

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the fire clockwise four times. Then they took a place to the east of the spruce, facing the sunrise. Then F., the shaman, went around the fire once. Then he called to the masked dancers, "Now it's your turn." 731 751 535

They came in from the east and advanced to the fire and back four times. On the fourth time they gave their call. They did the same thing from every direction. Then they went around the fire four times, then around the outside of the trees four times. After that they came in from the east and stood in a single file facing the fire. Then F. told the people to paint the masked dancers. It took a long time. The dancers knelt so the children could reach them, putting their sticks on the ground. 789 796

This started about one o'clock in the afternoon. The night ceremony lasted until morning. Later F. gave a little talk. He said that he didn't think the sickness was going to spread this far but that it was best to make the ceremony to make sure anyway.

The masked dancers not only act to keep illness away but "they can find out what the trouble is when people are sick." If witchcraft is discovered, the impersonators may have to expose the sorcerers. "The dancers should not point with their sticks at the spectators unless the shaman tells them to look for an evil-doer. Then they point him out. Usually the leader of the dance group is used for this." 535 755 754

Even the control of the weather is not beyond their function. On several occasions when the performance of the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite was threatened by stormy weather, I have seen the shaman gesture to the directions with a headdress in order to drive the clouds away. 535 789 821

A myth tells of the freeing of animals from the subterranean land where they were kept by Crow. There is the present belief, perhaps a corollary to this, in "animal homes," places within caves or mountains where the game is hidden. An example will indicate the type of "animal home" story that is common. 825 [793]

About eight or nine years ago there was a big snow at Whitetail. E. was hunting deer over there. He was on horseback. A deer jumped in front of him, and he started after it. He saw it disappear in a cave. Then he came on and met us. He told us, "The old people tell us that the animals come from caves in the mountains, and I believe them now." He told us the story of the deer he had chased.

Two others went to that cave with him. They followed the trail and found a hole there. They dropped a stone, and it sounded as though that hole were very

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825 deep, so they came back. People tell of homes of the mountain sheep like this too. They see the holes and the trails of the sheep going to them. I have heard of homes of animals in Hot Springs country too.

825 773 796 In this tale and in many others there is no attempt to link the animal home with the Mountain People, but in a description of the place where the first moccasin game was played there is a hint of such a nexus. "At the bottom of this mountain is a hole, a cave. In there the Mountain People live. Inside, it is about eight feet square. There is nothing but deer tracks there. The ground moves there."

It is evident from some descriptions of the Mountain People that they are considered not only the denizens of a given mountain but also the custodians of the wild life ranging in the vicinity. Often the power-acquisition stories have the "holy homes" of the Mountain People richly populated with game animals. The most unequivocal statement on this subject came from an Eastern Chiricahua who said:

All the animals, horses, sheep, come from the mountains. The Mountain People keep them. They take them in at night sometimes and let them out to graze here on earth during the day. R. killed a big buck here. It was cut [castrated]. That shows that the Mountain People make steers too.

796 782 [798] Anyone who is in the vicinity of a home of the Mountain People, whether he has power from them or not, sprinkles pollen toward the holy place and prays, "Protect us from enemies and do not let harm befall us while we are near you." Those who are in need are advised to appeal to the Mountain People: "A man who made masked dancers said, 'Any time you are in trouble or in danger from animals, pray to the Mountain People, and they will come from the mountains and protect you.' "

796 782 796 *Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman.*—The nebulous and remote Supreme Being is definitely not the source of any particular ceremony:

If a man felt that he was having bad luck, he might go out and ask Life Giver to help him. A man might get a ceremony of some kind at such a time in answer to his prayer, or he might just be helped out of his present trouble. If he gets a ceremony that will help him right along, that ceremony will come from some other source, like lightning or an animal, and not directly from Life Giver. But his prayer to Life Giver starts it.

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out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

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Antelope and deer.--Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

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The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

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The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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on the hunt is of constant importance to all grown men, those who do not possess such supernatural help, when they have been unsuccessful for any length of time, go to a deer or antelope shaman and hire him to perform his ceremony on their behalf.

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The concept of animal homes is frequently encountered in connection with hunting rites:

A long time ago they made arrows of lightning for the Indians. There was one little cloud up in the sky, and the lightning from there killed a deer. All the time the Indians used to eat antelopes and deer killed by lightning.

One time a bunch of men just like these Indians around here got together and were talking. They said, "If we have lightning to kill things, pretty soon there will not be anything left on this world." So the old men talked about making arrows out of carrizo. They took this reed which is hollow and put inside it a foreshaft with a mark like a crawling snake.[34] They could shoot with it then. They did not have guns in those days. The Indians had bows and arrows in those days, but they could not kill anything. The lightning would kill things for them before this, but they could not find any game. Now the lightning would not help them any longer.

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One time they were almost starving. One man went out hunting and was trailing some deer tracks. It was flat all over and there was a little hole out there with deer tracks around it, but the man could not find the deer. He was looking around where the deer tracks were and he saw a man coming out of the hole.

The man said to him, "What are you looking for? You have been looking for a long time and you don't find anything."

The hunter said, "I am looking for deer. Their tracks are fresh around here, but I can't find them."

The other man said, "Deer? What do you mean by saying 'deer'? I guess you must mean my horses." Then this man added, "They were here this morning and I just put them in the hole a little while ago." And then this man told the hunter, "I will give you some ceremonial power and from now on you can see the deer and you will have plenty to eat." This is why Indians can now kill deer.

When the hunter went back to camp that night, the others asked him where he got the power to kill deer. They kept on asking and asking, but the hunter would not tell them, for the man at the hole had told him not to tell, saying, "Even if you come to other camps, don't tell or you won't get anything to eat from me." But the Indians kept on asking and after a while the hunter got angry and told them. And from that time on they were starving again.

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Before continuing to another story which emphasizes the importance of these animal homes, it is necessary to introduce a belief relating to the hunt:

[34] This refers to the fluting on the arrow.

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The old people are still afraid when the deer goes in a sunwise circle around them and runs to the east. They say that when this happens a person has to follow the deer and he turns into a deer. Several times when I've been hunting they have run around and nearly made a circle. Then the thing to do is to get ahead of them or shoot them. This fear of being circled is for deer or antelope.

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The account in which the concept appears is as follows:

A young man went out with his bow and arrows to hunt antelopes on the prairies. He found a bunch of them. He was wearing an antelope mask and got close to them with it. He was trying to get close enough to shoot with the arrow.

They started to run before he got close enough to shoot. They ran in a sunwise circle around him and came back to the same place. Then they ran to the east. He ran after them. The antelopes ran out on the plains to a place where there was a little hill. Underneath the hill was a hole. They went in the hole, and this man went in too. He changed into an antelope.

The boy didn't come home. Two days passed and then his father and kinfolk trailed him. They saw where he had stood, where the antelopes had circled him, and where he had run after them. They trailed him to the hole and saw his track there in the fine dust.

They went home and hired a man who knew Antelope. A group came back with him to the hole and he sang. He tried to make the boy come back. He sang and prayed for four nights. The next morning the young man came up. He told them to go away from the hole. They did.

Then he said to his father, "I can't come back. You've got to get used to being without me. Do not think of me any more. The reason I don't come back is that I have many children now. I can show you my children. I can't leave them." He called his father to the hole. "Tell the men to wait for you. You can come in my home with me."

The father said, "All right," and went down in the hole with his son. He told the men to wait for him.

They went into a place like this earth. There was a sun in there and mountains. The young man showed his father many little antelopes and deer. That's what he meant by his children. He called the place in there Antelope Home. It is like summer there always, and the ground is covered with fine, soft dirt.

The boy told his father many things. Then he came up on top with his father. He told his father to go home with his friends. He said to his father, "Maybe one year from now, maybe three years from now, I'll come to you again. When you are hunting antelopes and you see one big one behind, that will be I. If you want to kill two or three, I'll help you, for when you come I'll smell you and let you come close."

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It is the one who claims special help from Deer who uses it in ceremonial contexts most often, but the deer is so important that it is of use to others as well:

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825 [231] [232] If you have a good deer dog, burn deerskin and make him inhale it. Then he becomes a good hunter. I had a sick hunting dog. I tried everything. The dog was going down. I hated to lose him. So I got deerskin and rags and burned them together and made the dog inhale the smoke. He got well too. I tried it the last thing.

825 239 [178] [173] Buckskin, especially from deer which have been caught in head nooses or otherwise killed without damage to the hide, is in great demand for ceremonial gifts and for the making of amulets. "It is the holy hide, used for ceremonial purposes. It is supposed to come from a strangled deer, and the skin is supposed to be unblemished. Child of the Water used it so on earth; that is why."

825 824 When a hunter kills a deer, the carcass, the hide, and even the offal are treated according to prescribed rule, but, since all hunters observe these usages, a description of them is deferred until hunting methods are treated.

756 825 787 539 *Bear.*—A vision journey which resulted in the acquisition of a bear ceremony is described by the son of the man who became a bear shaman:

My father went across the plains twice, and the second time he slept at a place just beyond the White Sands. He usually found his tribe in the foothills at Hot Springs.

The second time, when he was sleeping at the place, something came to him. It was close to the springs. He was a little up the hills on a rock. He built a fire and went to sleep. He made a mattress of grass.

Close to morning he was sleeping there. He was sound asleep. It touched him and told him to awake. It had something to tell him. He pushed the cover off his head, and there sat a silver-tip bear. It spoke in a human way to him and told him it was time for him to get up and that he was about to get something to know and to travel by.

He got up. He knew that a door was open to him. He just walked right in, into the rocks. He was led into a room, and the bear changed itself into the form of a human and told him to follow wherever he went.

And so he showed him through the gate where the striking rocks were working, hitting against each other all the time. But they went through. Then they came to a place where four points of rock went back and forth. They also walked through that. They came to another rock that was rolling and was in the form of a round ball, just like a hill. It hit the bank on the other side all the time. But they walked over it and didn't even notice it strike the bank. Then they came to the swinging rock door, and it worked as in many other places.

Then they came to two big bears, black and white, at a gate. My father's

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guide told him to go on and they went through. On further they came to two big snakes, a black one and a white one. But they went through. This time something they never had seen before was present in the cave. It was the wolf, the big timber wolf. There were two, a black one and a white one. The wolf spoke to him, but he went on.

Then on further they came to two geese, a black one and a white one. When they saw my father, they tried to fly, but they came to the ground all the time because they felt pretty good. They said, "We know you. We have known you all the time." That's what the geese said.

Everything went smoothly until they started to cross a place where there were two moving logs used for a bridge. After my father crossed this bridge, he came into another more beautiful place. He asked the guide what this place was. He told him that it was the home of Summer[25] right there, but he passed through that place and then went to a crossing where a spider had a web for a bridge. He also crossed this without trouble.

Then he came to a still more beautiful place. Very pretty flowers were growing there. All of these spoke. He asked what this place was, and the bear told him that this was the home of the flowers and the herbs used for curing men all over the world. "This is Medicine's home."

He went on. Then came the humans. The humans were working out in the fields. They ran toward him and tried to show him many [supernatural] things. He paid no attention to them.

Then he came to a place where there was nothing but beautiful women. There were girls only there, dressed like White Painted Woman, who had just gone through the puberty ceremony. The girl's ceremony was shown him there. That was the home of the girl's puberty rite. But he paid no attention to this either.

On he went. He came to another land, and you could hear the drums beating steadily. It was even more beautiful. There were different kinds of Black Ones and Mountain Spirits there with different markings. It all belonged to the girl's puberty rite. The man said to him, "If you want to be the leader of the Mountain Spirits, you can take those four Mountain Spirits there. They are used in every way. They are the leading Mountain Spirits, stronger than any you saw in any other caves." There were twelve there altogether. His guide said, "You can use only four a night. If sickness is in the country, you can use them." But my father said, "No," and went on.

Then he was led out into the further end, and out before him was a big man. There were four tables. The man showed him all, but my father said, "No, I want to go to one stronger than you."

The man said, "No, they usually go no farther. This is the best." But my father said, "No," and wouldn't take any of it.

He went into another room, and there in the middle sat another man with a chair that turned either way. From him shone all kinds of light. And all around him was green fruit.

[25] The personification of summer is not unusual in these stories.

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The man studied my father. He said, "There is no human who has come this far, passing the first man. What do you come for? You see many fruits here, and there are things here that are valuable above all. What you ask for your own good, for raising your children, I will give you."

My father said, "I come for one that is strongest. Are you the strongest?"

"No, there are two above me."

Then my father went on. He came to another man who was shining with a yellow light before him. The light made it appear as though the wind were blowing pollen from the trees around him, but it was not. This man also knew that my father was not going to stop there. So he brought before him two yellow horses with white tails. And a sort of wagon was there.

My father got in the wagon[16] with a guide, and they came to a gate, a big white gate. Everything was as white as could be, even the trees and fruit. Even the faces of the people there shone, and before him he saw all kinds of things. He bowed down four times, and the fourth time he was before a man in a big white chair who had a white staff in his right hand. This man was the last one. This man asked him how he got in and such things as that. My father told him all.

"We had better be moving," the man said, "for it is getting daylight."

So he listened and said "Yes" to everything my father asked him. Everything my father wanted, he got.

"I hate to see poor people sick. I hate it when people are walking along the road poor and without horses. I want to know what is best to do for them. You can give me what you think is best."

This man sang and performed what was given my father. And it raised him as though he had wings. There was nothing but clouds around him. Before him everything shook, and there was lightning and thunder. Much was shown my father, terrible things [witchcraft] and how to stop them.

The man handed him a staff. You'll always have this. It will speak itself. It must never be lost." He told him what was best. And this, they say, was the power of Bear.

After this he knew all the people and their ways and their thoughts, and what was going to be done, and what was going to happen to them. Afterward he did much healing, even for the whites and Mexicans. He was known in Comanche country and by the Navaho.

755 757 The curing ceremony which stemmed from this experience was recalled by the same informant:

He held a bear ceremony for four nights to heal the sick. That's as long as he would continue it. He cured many diseases through it. He used it once on a severe case of pneumonia, the worst case of pneumonia I ever saw. This was right out in the hills. The girl had hemorrhages with it. I thought she was going to die.

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[16] Note the elements of European influence in this story.

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My father sang the songs of the bear and found out what had to be done. He was told that a mixture of different herbs had to be given right away. That was to stop the bleeding. They got the strongest herb first. This one was pointed out by the bear. My mother went and got it, and that night it was given to the girl in four doses. It was given in pollen, and the bowl was lifted to her head four times, then to her lips four times, and she drank it from the side that was marked with pollen.

The next thing was to get after the pneumonia. The girl was stronger now. My mother mixed up the second dose of the same medicine they had given her before. They thought the second dose would surely stop the hemorrhage for good. They gave the medicine to her four times again.

Then my father started in. He took the right front paw of a bear, warmed it, and put it on her chest where it pained most. Then he took a bowl and put it to her chest. He sucked. Blood and pus and suds came out and foamed up. He did that four times. They had real good medicine for the pneumonia. It was the blazing star.[37] It was ground fine, mixed with grease and water; then they rubbed her with it and wrapped her up with some of it on her chest. They tried to make this ceremony short because she was weak.

The second night it went the same way. My father sang two songs. He marked her with pollen. He used the bear paw, putting pollen on it first. He sucked pus out of her again. It came out easily this time.

Now he waited two days before doing anything more for her, but he had my mother continue to give her medicine. He saw that the girl was gaining and getting well.

The third night he started in, he didn't know whether to suck or not. "There is no use to suck. Let me look at her," he said. After singing he looked and saw there was just a little pus left. "I don't think it is necessary to suck again," he said. But he asked the bear. The bear said he had better take it out because that little bit might get bigger. So he sucked it out. Before he sucked he always marked the place with pollen and put pollen in his mouth.

The girl said she could breathe much better. She said she wanted to get well quickly. She prayed all through the ceremony. That's why she got well so quickly. Then the fourth night of the ceremony came. It was a short ceremony this night. The girl was getting along nicely now. They just gave her the medicine.

Another account of the acquisition of a bear ceremony is of special interest because the final paragraph suggests the use together of multiple powers:

A long time ago a group of men went far south looking for horses and cattle. All the party except one man got killed, and, in trying to make his way back, he got lost. In those days they dressed in a buckskin loincloth and buckskin jacket.

[37] Two plants commonly known as blazing star are *Liatris punctata* and *Mentzelia multiflora*.

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When they were cold they made a fire, pushed the ashes away, put grass on the hot ground, and slept there. It kept them warm. This man had nothing with him to eat, and the rain came and the buckskin got wet and stiff. It became very cold, and he nearly froze.

He went to a hole in a cliff for shelter. Then he heard a sound above, and he went up there. He saw a great cave between two rocks. He went in and found a mother bear and two little bears in there. Bear looked at him and he talked to Bear. "I'm about to die. Give me something to eat."

Bear said, "Come in."

He went in. The bear rapped on the stone wall, and a door opened. In there was a room with a fireplace. The bear woman had a shallow basket in there, and it was filled with acorns and wild fruit. She pounded it up nicely and gave it to him. He sat by the fire and warmed himself and ate. When this man got back to his people, he told them that bears were just like human beings. "They talk like us and live as we do. When they go out they turn to bears," he said.

When he had eaten, the bear said, "My husband is mean. I don't know what he will do to you. Sometimes he gets after me. But he is very fond of these children. Take one of my babies and put it in your lap when my husband comes and maybe he won't hurt you."

About dark Bear came. As soon as he came under the cliff he smelled man. He got angry and growled like a dog. His wife heard him and told the man to take the baby on his lap. Big Bear came in looking angry but didn't say anything when he saw the child on the man's lap. The woman said nothing.

Then Bear said to his wife, "Did you feed this man?" Where did he come from?"

His wife said, "He came in here nearly dying. I fed him and warmed him."

Bear sat down and said nothing. Then he began to question the man. "Do you want anything more? You can have more." He acted like this because of the baby.

"I've had plenty."

"Do you want to stay overnight?"

"Yes."

So they put the man in another room that opened when they rapped on the wall. The next morning they opened the door and told the man to come out. They gave him a good breakfast of all kinds of Indian fruit and meat.

"I've had enough," the man said when he had finished.

Then Bear told him, "Go on top of this hill and you'll find a cave there. In it is water. Wash yourself and then get some good-smelling weeds, mix white paint with them, and rub them over your body and face. It will make you smell better. You smell bad; I noticed you all night."[58]

The man did as he was told. He went to the pool and bathed and swam.

[58] This is simply a reversal of the notion that the smell of bears is offensive and dangerous to human beings.

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Then he mixed weeds and white paint and put it over his body. He came back, and Bear said that he didn't smell him any more.

Then Bear told him to take a good rest. "Meanwhile I'll go over and hunt up your people."

He stayed at Bear's home four days. Four days later Bear got home again. He lay down. "I'm very tired," he said. "I found your people far away. Tomorrow we'll start out, and I'll take you to them."

The next morning the man started out with the father bear. They walked all day. About evening they came close to a mountain.

"Where do you want to stay?" Bear asked.

"In a hollow place," the man said.

"No," the bear told him. "It's better on top. It's warmer up there."

They went to the top and stayed there overnight. In the morning they started again. The next day toward sundown they went on top again. The next morning they started and walked all day. At night they went on top again. They carried dried beef with cooked fat and berries in it. The fourth morning they arose before sunup.

"Maybe we will find your people before noon," Bear said. "Then I'll go home."

About noon they found many Indian camps. Bear said, "There are your people. I'm going home now. After this if you or your children get lost, don't be afraid of Bear. Go to Bear's home." Then Bear went home, and the man went into his camp.

He found his wife and children cutting their hair off. In the old days they sometimes cut the hair short and sometimes cut it all off for mourning. They had killed all his horses and thrown away all the things he owned.

That bear had given him a ceremony with songs and prayers when he was in that cave. Then, when he got back to his people, he helped them when they got sick. When he healed sick people, he took a circular piece of rawhide, covered it with buckskin, and painted Bear, Lightning, and Buffalo on it. That was because Bear had told him that Lightning and Buffalo were his friends and their powers all worked together. He would make this for people and put a buckskin cord on it and later give it to them to wear.

Coyote, dog, wolf.—Details of a typical coyote ceremony have already been given[29] and need not be repeated here.

While sickness can be contracted from a dog, at least by a child, a coyote or wolf ceremony is thought sufficient to remove it. A certain amount of ceremonialism has grown up around dogs, but these usages are for the benefit of the dogs and not to cure ailments they have brought.

[29] See pp. 40–41.

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231 When you want to train a dog to be a good hunter or watchdog, burn an eagle
789 feather for it.

224 I wrap up an eagle feather in cloth with the kind of flies that bother animals. I burn this and throw a blanket over the dog's head so he can inhale the smoke.

If meat is rubbed on your feet and then given to a dog, that dog will stick by you and be a good watchdog. It will love you and guard you.

This is the way to make a dog good for trailing. Cut up four pieces of meat, spit on them, rub them on your moccasins to get some soil from there on them, put the meat in the dog's mouth, and talk to him, giving him instructions just as you would a boy.

Another way is to take a section of deer meat from the place where it swells between the two hoofs. Put this with the feather of the buzzard or crow. Put this to the windy side of the dog. Light it and make the dog inhale, saying to him, "May you keep the trail." We use the buzzard and crow because they fly all over and never miss a dead object. We use the deer meat so the dog will go after deer.

A friend told me to chop up a little rattlesnake into four parts and to give it to a dog with his meat. This is to be done when you want a fierce dog. It makes him fierce all right, but it is too dangerous. The dog is hard to handle then, even by the owner. The dog gets too mean, like a mountain lion. But if a man is far out alone and is afraid, it might be done.

232 There is a certain prickly pear that is called "dog medicine." It is a general tonic for a dog. You put it into his mouth whole.

• 825 The wolf has been known to offer a ceremony and special aid:
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539 He smoked and prayed and went to bed again. He slept a little while and then was waked up again. Before him sat a big timber wolf, white as snow. It was the most beautiful creature, he said, he ever saw. He wanted to touch it but was afraid to. Then Wolf took its paw and touched him and told him he needn't be afraid. So he touched the wolf. The fur felt very soft and fine and warm. He touched the four legs of the wolf, then touched his own legs and said, "Let my legs be as strong as yours."

The wolf spoke to him and said, "I've seen you. . . . . I came to you myself. I will add what I can to the strength of your legs. You have done the right thing. . . . ."

231 *Horse* (*mule*, *burro*).—A characteristic horse ceremony was
787 obtained by a man who was raiding for horses:
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755 Two men started south from their home. On the way a horse spoke to one of them and gave him a ceremony. It happened this way. They were raiding for horses. They got to a town south of Tucson and found some horses there. They began to drive them off. At a certain place they stopped to rope horses to ride.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck.

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Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms:

A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that.

Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[39]

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When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman.

T. . . . . knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

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But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse:

If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position.

When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.

We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.

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Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself.

[825] [237]

[39] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy."

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231 As various domestic animals have become more numerous, the
232 horse shaman has seemed to be the logical person to cure them
756 and is now thought of as the one who "knows a lot about [domestic] animal sickness." "These are the ones who take care of the diseases of animals; they have a general knowledge of animals."

231 There is some difference of opinion concerning the material
756 benefits of a horse ceremony to the horse shaman himself. The story of the woman horse shaman whose horses were sleek and fine seems to bear out the statement of an informant who said, "Some persons have a ceremony from the horse and have fit horses all the time." But the opposite view is held by others. "I think that N. had power from the horse. His horses were poor. Some people say that a man with a horse ceremony has pretty poor horses. He can help others but not himself."

825 *Wild goose.*—An excellent example of the special abilities
787 which a shaman may acquire because of the characteristics of his supernatural guardian, is power obtained from the wild goose:
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During the old times when Geronimo was around doing mischief, the Chiricahua used to get a band of ten or twelve and go to the Mexican border and drive cattle home. A certain man got tired and was left behind. It got to the point where they couldn't help him, so they left him behind. They thought he would catch up. He was tired, hungry, discouraged, and had given up. He was thinking all sorts of unpleasant things. It was pretty bad.

All at once Goose appeared to him and said, "What's the matter?" He said, "I'm in a bad fix."

Goose said, "All right, I'll give you a certain ceremony, and you must obey. You must follow my directions exactly."

He gave the man four songs. The goose spoke of feathers; it told him he had to rub them on his right side. Goose is long winded and goes for many days. Goose said to him, "I will give you my endurance."

It happened that way. He caught up to the others. Everyone was surprised. The man was able to pass over broad flat lands without being tired out after that. The one who told me this story says that he had this man sing over him; then he won an important race.

825 *Nighthawk.*—An informant tells how he was cured by the
755 power of Nighthawk in a rite jointly conducted by two shamans:
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Old Man D. and T. knew the ceremony of the nighthawk. I saw them perform it several times. They sang together. Both knew the same thing; one learned it from the other. T. learned it from D.

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Once I was sick with a bad case of kidney trouble. I went to the agency doctor, and he told me I couldn't get well. He said that I'd have trouble all the way through and that one day it would kill me. One side of my face and one side of my body were swollen. I got out of that hospital. Then, because they were distant relatives of mine, these two men sang for me and told me not to be worried, that I was going to get well. P. was there, S., B. and his wife, and some other people, the relatives of my wife. We were not alone.

[788]

When they started to cure me, they first smoked. Then they used pollen, marking me on the face. Then they marked the faces of all who were present with pollen. I did it back to these two men, marked their faces with pollen, and the other people did it too. There were quite a few people present. The people always like to listen. Some heard there was going to be singing and just dropped in.

Then they started to sing. During the singing one of them was always drumming. Sometimes it was one of them, sometimes the other. They sang about the nighthawk, calling him Great Old Man Nighthawk, and asking him what it was best to do to get me well. They used feathers of the golden eagle. One had two of them sewed together and attached to his hand all the time.

Their power talked to them any time they asked him something, and they asked him questions right in the songs. Then they would look at each other and talk. One would say, "Do you hear that?" The other would answer, "Yes." But we couldn't hear a thing. Sometimes they got a message, but they would tell me they couldn't say anything about it until morning. They carried on the ceremony at night only for four nights.

When they first sang, Nighthawk spoke to them and said that they didn't have to be frightened, that I'd be going along all right in a few days. I had been laid up during February, March, and April. This was in late April.

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Next Nighthawk told them that there was a woman present who knew herbs and that it was best to have her use certain herbs on me. This was my own mother. They directed her in what to do, according to the word of their power, and she went out and gathered all the best herbs.

[787]

All during their ceremony they learned many things about my future. They told me that in the future I was going to have land and own everything and have children too. They said the first was to be a boy, and it was. And they said, "You are not only going to have this boy but girls too. In the spring you are going to plow. You will look up and see just one little cloud. And it will open and rain first on your place." And it all really came true. In the spring I was plowing back of East Mountain. It rained first on my place. It did this for several years.

The ceremony helped me a great deal. D. told me not to eat liver until I got real well. By May, after the last snow, and when the birds first began to come, I was well. And so I think the power of the nighthawk was certainly strong.

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Owl.—When individuals are first troubled by the call of an owl or by thoughts and dreams of the dead, there are measures

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happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows the enemy-ghost ceremony."

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Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from persecution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a preventive rite may be performed:

The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. Each shaman has his own way. [302] [302]

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Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

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I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grandmother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.

After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.

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Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.

If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

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morning early, it goes to 'Cut-Grass-Sitting.'" "Cut-Grass-Sitting" is the name of a place. It is called on because the song [ceremony] started from there. It is a place in Old Mexico on the other [west] side of the Rio Grande.

Then I pray again, saying, "By tomorrow morning may all evil disappear and go to the east. May all the sickness that was above the heart in this person go to the west. From now on let him eat again." After this the patient says to me, "I was sick. Now I am well. I never knew you. Now you have made me well. I am well again. I am as I was before. If something like this happens to me again, I will appeal to you."

After the four songs and prayer the ceremony is over for the night. I do this for two nights. The songs and prayers are the same each night. I tell the sick person to put the black-handled knife under his pillow for the two nights so he won't get scared. And I tell him, "Don't eat tongue or liver."

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Summer tanager.—Nothing is said in the following tale of a curing ceremony from the tanager, but it is evident that the bird acted as a guardian spirit:

J. M. tells this one. During his war days when he was young, there was a boy he used to go with, just a young boy. This boy always sang like the summer tanager, that entirely red bird. One time this boy camped out alone and was lost from the group that was out raiding for horses. He was left at a water hole. They were to pick him up on their return. Instead of picking him up, they went right by and left him. He was crying there, for he had little to eat.

While he was crying, something lit in the tree above him. He paid no attention, for he was still crying. Then this bird came to him and touched him on the head. "Don't cry. I have come to show you many things and to lead you to a good country where you will be happy always. All your people are worrying about you because you haven't come back. The ones who left you are already at home. They brought a good bunch of mules and a herd of horses. But there are a few horses and mules left, the ones that they lost on the way. Take them and drive them back. I will go with you. Take my tail feathers. They will talk to you and warn you of danger.

"The ones who left you here are saying wrong things about you to your family. They are saying that you are dead. Your family is going to wait four days and then cut their hair. So be back before four days. I'm going to lead you. Turn this horse loose, catch the others, ride the black one first, then the second day ride the gray horse. There will be seven horses (yours will be the eighth) and two mules."

The boy was shown that he could see at night and see through mountains, and whenever he asked a question it was always answered. He always had the feathers ready in his hand so he could talk to them. The tanager also turned into a man and rode with him.

Before sunrise of the fourth day the people at camp saw someone coming.

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825 787 539 The men got weapons ready. They went out to kill whoever was coming and to take the horses away. They saw two men coming, but only one rode up.

The boy's father met him and asked, "Who was the other man?" The boy said that he was alone. They did not believe him.

825 787 539 755 778 *Reptiles.*—How one man obtained a snake ceremony which he used with signal success years later is related in the following account:

They say this man knew snake power better than anyone in the tribes around here. On his hat he wore the rattlers of a snake and two eagle feathers. No matter how badly a person was bitten, he never held his ceremony in the day, but always at night. He said he could cure snake bite on humans or horses.

This is how he got his power. He thought a bush was burning and went to see whether it was and what had started it. He found that the bush was not really burning and saw a big snake move from it. The snake was one such as had never been seen anywhere. It had red and white stripes, yellow streaks on its side, and very red eyes. The way it was throwing its tongue out was like a fire burning. The man started to speak to it, but the snake didn't say anything to him. So the man went off.

That night he camped out in a lonely place, for his home was very far away. The raiding party he had been with was scattered by a band of soldiers. He had only one blanket. He built a fire, roasted a rabbit, and, after eating it and saying a few prayers, went to bed.

He was sound asleep when all at once something touched him. He threw the blanket off his head and looked around but didn't see anything. He thought it might have been a branch fallen off the tree under which he was sleeping, and he started to cover up again. But he heard a sound, like something rubbing against the tree, and a second time something touched him. He threw off the covers. Nothing was in sight. He was about to go to sleep for the third time when the thing came again. He paid no attention and tried to go to sleep. The same thing happened for the fourth time, and he thought he heard someone come down from the tree. He was pretty sure some man was playing a trick on him. It didn't seem to frighten him a bit. He heard a voice, but he just kept his head covered. He tried to recognize it, but he did not know the voice. He stayed still as the voice came closer.

The fourth time it spoke, the voice said, "Wake up! Get up! Someone is coming to see you. You've been asking for me. Here I am. What do you want?"

The man knew it was some kind of power, and, as he looked up, rubbing his eyes, he saw a large snake. He started to cry out but changed his mind. The snake told him not to be frightened, that it had come for a good purpose, to help him out and give him good things which he needed. He said, "Very well," and before Snake could speak again he marked it with piñon pollen.

Then the snake asked him what he wanted. The man said, "I want many good things, for I like to help others."

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The snake said, "I'll show you where these things are. Stand up and come with me."

He looked at the snake again, and there was a handsome man, dressed in Indian clothes. He carried a rattle made of a wild gourd decorated with eagle feathers and with the feathers of many other birds.

A door opened in front of them on the side of a big rock. The sun was shining in there, and it looked like daylight. Inside they had to pass a big crevice, too wide to jump. A single spider had spun its thread across. The man asked, "How do we cross?" and the snake said, "I'll lead you. Follow me." The man said, "Two of us can't cross on that thread; it might break." Snake said, "Come." They both got on and stepped across. The man seemed to be walking on a wide board; the web felt stiff. It never bent or sagged.

After crossing this place, they came to another door. It was thrown open, and a stronger light shone ahead. A great black snake was in their path. It had a large mouth, and it rose up and struck at them. But the man was told to come ahead, and so he stepped in front of the snake and continued.

Then they came to a blue snake with white eyes. From its mouth came flames. They had to cross in front of this snake, and it bit at them. The man stopped, but his guide told him to come, and he passed right in front of it.

Now they came to another place. A door opened and a still stronger yellow light shone out. At the entrance was a yellow rock and a great yellow snake was coiled on it, striking at them. The snake moved and rolled around. The guide stepped right on top of the snake and told the man to follow.

Then they came to another big door. The guide spoke, and the door opened to them. Inside there was still more light, and it hurt the man's eyes. But his guide touched his eyes, and he could see again. There was a great white snake with a big white tongue there, rolling in their path. The tip of the tongue looked like fire, but there was no heat to it at all. The snake didn't seem to pay any attention to them. The guide told the man to continue. They had to crawl through the coils.

Finally they came to the place where there was a man sitting. He was in charge of all these snakes and was very powerful. This one spoke to the Chiricahua and said, "My child, where have you come from? No man has ever entered this place. Why have you come? Who brought you and who showed you the way?"

The Chiricahua said, "That man brought me. You have power of all kinds and that's why I've come. I want the best you've got to help me and my people."

The other replied, "I have many things here that you want. Those things I show you, you can take. If you don't see them, tell me the things you want most."

The Chiricahua said, "I wish to have the power Yusn gives, and Child of the Water, White Painted Woman—things like that."

The man said, "I don't give that power, but I can ask for this for you. I am going to give you power. Wait here until I get back."

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825 787 539 778 752 He walked away to a table made of rock and prayed. The clouds darkened, lightning flashed, and it thundered, and the whole place seemed to shake. In a little while this man came back and gave the Chiricahua something that stood for his power. He took this thing and thanked the man.

The one who gave the power said, "I'm glad you've come here. Do not tell others about this for four years. We will let you know when to practice it."

At that the Chiricahua thought he was stepping out of one door, but he was right at his bedding. There was nobody there. He heard the birds start to sing, and he got right up. It was morning.

This power never spoke to him until four years were over. One time his child was sick and he wanted to help his boy, but he had not been spoken to yet. He prayed in different ways. He did his best but he couldn't do much for the child, who kept getting worse all the time. Finally he hired a San Carlos Apache who knew a ceremony. This man held a ceremony for four nights. The power which the San Carlos knew told him that the father was going to have a ceremony to heal, but that he could not use it yet. This San Carlos Indian said to the father "Your power is stronger than mine. You hired me and you can cure the child yourself. But I will do my best to help you, for you believe in me." He helped him that much and the child got well.

One night, a little more than a year after this, he was wondering why the power had not spoken to him yet, when something struck his tent and shook it. It hit the tent from the four directions, from the sunrise first and around to the north. Then the tent moved way up in the air, it seemed. It did it four times that night.

The next day he was going after his horses to water them. He hunted and hunted for those horses until close to sundown. He was tired out and started to go back when a whirlwind came up, went to the four directions, came toward him, and disappeared. As he stood there he heard a voice calling him by his own name. "You have been thinking of me all night. The things you have seen are to tell you it's time for you to practice the power you received in the holy place where you have been. You've lost your horses and have been walking all day. Your horses are a little way up the right-hand canyon. Soon they will come up and shake their heads and rub against you. You can take them to water."

His horses came and he watered them and turned them loose. He got back to his tent and thought of his power. He took out the object given to him in the holy home and marked it with pollen of the cattail. Then he lifted it up to the four directions and prayed with all that was in him. His wife and children watched but did not know what he was doing.

He was being shown by his power what to use in his ceremony and what to avoid. People who had power were shown to him in groups. One group had less power, another more. He saw himself with the group that had greatest power. He was shown a big eagle flying toward him, about to pick his children up. His power told him that this did not mean that the eagle was going to take his children away but that they would have power of some kind when they got older.

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Above him he saw different people, whites and Chinese, and others. He knew they had power, a different kind of power. Among his own people he saw people who had the same kind of power he had; they were healers and shamans.

While it is not impossible for a snake ceremony to counteract other ailments, it is most often used to cure snake sickness:

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At Hot Springs there was a woman who was kin to me. She was just a little bit of a woman, but she knew the ceremony of the snake pretty well. During the time we lived at Hot Springs, P., my brother, and I went out to shoot birds with our arrows. We went to a prairie-dog town. My brother, who was older than I, was watching birds, and he ran into a snake. The snake bit him on the kneecap, and he couldn't walk. He fell right there. P. ran to tell our family, and I stayed with him.

As soon as he heard what had happened, my father went to get this woman. They came and carried my brother to camp in a blanket. He sweated and sweated.

Then the old woman came over. She said, "Well, I'll try it." First they had to give her turquoise, and she told my brother to mark her. He marked her foot with a cross of pollen and went around to her shoulders, chest, head, back, and down the other side the way they do. Then she could begin.

[431] [788]

She put pollen on the boy and put it to the directions. She put some in his mouth and made a cross of it where he was bitten. Then she sang. She used no drum. . . . . She sang snake songs. The boy lay in front of her. She started in the afternoon and sang until sundown. She sang like this during the day for four days.

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After she sang her songs she called on the biggest snake, the most poisonous kind. She said to it, "I want you to take your poison back. Put it back in your heart. I have sung your song and said your prayer and have done just what you told me to do. Now I want you to do what I say and not bother this poor boy." She didn't suck the wound. After calling on the snake she laughed. "The boy will be all right," she said. "Snake hears me."

The swelling went down, and he got well. She told him, "You will never be bitten by a snake again."

During the ceremony she said many things about snakes. She said that Snake has legs, four of them, but that no one except those who know Snake can see them. They are of turquoise, made like a ball, and he rolls along on them. That's why Snake likes turquoise. When a man is sick from Snake, the first thing he must do is give her turquoise. A woman must give her white stone. She said that Snake likes turquoise and pollen. He likes to eat pollen. She said that she could take pollen and put it there and sing, and a snake would come from the grass and eat it.

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I saw her perform many ceremonies. Sometimes she would sing and rub saliva on the place where the person was bitten, and the swelling would go down right away.

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755 262 784 At the conclusion of most snake ceremonies, as in the case of other rites, food and behavior restrictions are imposed:

You must not stir boiling meat with a knife or use the knife as a spoon. If you should lie down flat on your back with your legs crossed, no one should step over your legs. A rope must not be used on a person who has been bitten. In using a rope you must not string it out toward your camp or house. You must always go out the door of the home or tent, not out of the sides. In quarreling you must use no words that have anything to do with the snake. You must not eat the marrow of leg bones. You must not eat meat from the breast of an animal.

751 Often the patient, after an attack of snake sickness, is given a protective amulet:

After you go through a snake ceremony, the shaman may make a bandoleer for you to wear, or give you a stone to wear, or make you an arm band, if you are a man. For a woman he may have a beaded strip which she should wear in her hair. These will make the patients immune so that the snake cannot harm them again.

825 Fewer data exist concerning the place of other reptiles in the ceremonialism. Of the gila monster it was remarked, "I hear it [533] mentioned in the ceremonial songs of old Chiricahua, but that's the only way it's used now that I know of," and of the turtle: [237] "Some shamans use the shell for the giving of medicine. B. gave [788] me some in one. He marked the shell with pollen and gave it to me four times. They say that the turtle shell cannot be hit by [703] lightning." The lizard appears in the myths as a helper of Child of the Water and the small animals in their triumphs over the monsters, and it is considered a potential source of supernatural power.

411 789 [533] [782] *Weapons.*—The ordinary protection afforded by weapons is enlarged, in certain cases, to include supernatural help as well, and a set of songs and prayers known as "ceremony from the gun" (the same word means gun or bow) has arisen. Sometimes this ceremony is called "ceremony against the enemy."

Old Man S. was with Geronimo's bunch all through the war. . . . . He has power from the gun, they say. They say he used to get out on the bank; all the soldiers shot at him and couldn't hit him. One who went to shoot him might fall down or drop his gun; then S. would kill him instead. Another man told me he knows a gun ceremony. He, too, went through all the wars safely. Geronimo is said to have known this ceremony. He never got hurt either. Something always

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Another thing about the hunt according to the old Chiricahua ways: The older men would always give this advice to the younger. "Don't eat before you go out on the hunt," they would say. "Even though you have plenty in camp, don't eat in the morning before you go out. Go out and hunt with an empty stomach. Then Yusn will pity you. Perhaps you will not see anything to shoot though it is late in the day. You'll be empty, hungry, an object of pity. But if you go out with a full stomach, you'll hunt all day and won't get anything. As soon as you make your kill and come back with it, you can eat all you want."

The crow is associated with the hunt. A tale relates how animals were kept hidden by the crows until Killer of Enemies, with the help of Coyote, freed them during the absence of their keepers. The crows returned just in time to see their animals escape, and in their anger called the names of the waste products which form their usual fare. "So the human beings get all the best part of the meat, and the crows get what is left." On the basis of this story, the appearance of a crow just before the hunt is accepted as a favorable omen:

Well, suppose I am planning to go out hunting tomorrow. Crow might be very happy, flying around my camp. Then I might say, "Well, Crow, I'm going out hunting tomorrow and if I kill a deer you'll get the entrails, so help me." The crow must be connected in some way with hunting, but I've never heard how. But that's the way of it.

The attitude of the hunter should be one of reverence and generosity:

If I am going hunting with you, before we start out you might tell me, "If I kill two deer for you, I'm going to kill a good fat one and it will be mine." You must not show your selfishness in any way. If you say anything like this and walk all day and get no deer, you know what is the cause of it. You brought it on yourself. And even if you have killed several deer and you say something like this, you'll have bad luck later on. It'll make it bad for you.

The attitude against optimism is emphasized particularly in one of the rules of the hunt.[1] "The Chiricahua don't allow baskets around the hunt. To bring them means that you are overconfident that they are going to be filled up. It spoils your luck."

In late fall, when the deer are fatter and the hides better,

[1] One elderly informant, an Eastern Chiricahua, claimed to know nothing of this rule.

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course.) Sometimes, especially when the hunter is mounted, the deer are run to exhaustion, roped, and strangled. An unblemished skin can be secured in this way, or the hunter might stab the tired animal in the throat or in some spot where an incision would be made anyway in skinning. 224

Arrows used on the hunt are occasionally treated with poison which has strong magical properties: 224 411 824

> Get some animal blood. Then take the sharp prongs of plants like the prickly-pear cactus and pound them up with the blood. Allow this to spoil. Put it on the arrow point. Whatever you shoot with it dies. It does not spoil the meat though. It acts the same on humans. It acts like this because the plants used have prickers.

A favorite aid in stalking is a deer-head mask, a device contributed by Killer of Enemies: 224 [773]

> We stalk deer wearing the head and horns of a deer. The head is mounted on a circular stick which rests on the top of the hunter's head. The features of the deer are filled in with grass, and the skin is tied together at the sides so the mask will stay on. The hunter sneaks up on the deer from the proper side, so the wind will not warn them of him. He acts like a grazing deer. He stoops over and rests on a stick which he holds in the left hand. In the right hand he holds his arrows. In this way he walks slowly to the deer until he is near enough to shoot an arrow. He doesn't wear the body skin of the deer as a disguise, but he puts on something that is pretty near the color of the deer's body. Some careful men could come within six feet of the deer in this way.

Sometimes, to draw the deer to him, the hunter employs a further stratagem: "They have whistles made of a leaf to call the deer. They can do it with any leaf held horizontally along the lips. It sounds like a small deer, and the mother comes." [534] [825] [824]

Whenever possible the hunter tries to hit his prey in the flank, for then "the running motion makes the arrow work farther up." In the myths this technique is used by Killer of Enemies and Coyote. [773]

Though it is common "for each man to hunt for himself" or for two or three to join forces, occasionally a larger number start out together. This permits a relay method of hunting; men are stationed at various points along a course, and deer are started in this direction. Fresh hunters are able to enter the chase at intervals and finally run down the tiring game. By much the same

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is cut into convenient sections. One man tells of his care to keep the meat of the right side separate from that of the left side until the butchering is concluded, but this seems to be personal with him. 224

If a hunter is on foot and far from his camp, it is likely that he will be able to take only part of the kill back with him:

If you are on foot and can't take it with you, you put the meat in a heap, place the hide over it, and say to the animals, "This belongs to Yusn; leave it alone." Then you hang it up in a tree by means of strongly spliced yucca strings. [283] You hang it high enough so that animals cannot reach it. Then you put what you are going to take home in the hide. After reaching home, you go right back after the rest and bring it in.

Another man mentioned a similar procedure, though he invokes a different supernatural:

You put part of the kill in a tree if you can't carry it all at once. It is tied [283] there with strings made from the yucca leaf. There is a little prayer that is used [782] at this time. You say, "This belongs to Hedos."[4] He was the "first man," sort of [776] a religious man. He did this every time he made a kill. Now the Chiricahua do it.

Crow is remembered with an offering. "Then I take the en- [825] trails out, put them to one side, and say, 'This is for you, Crow; [782] make me lucky, and we'll have this kind of food all the time. I [776] leave this for you every time.'"

Certain parts of the deer must have special care if good fortune in the hunt is to be maintained: 224 825 777

As a general rule you must take the head home. Somebody might give you bad luck with it if you leave it there. You can do anything you want with it when you get it home, hang it up or anything. You must take the hoofs too. You can do what you want with them when you get them home too. Everybody is directed to do this.

A particular act also attends the bringing-back of the horns of a buck. "They take a slit of the entrails of a buck and tie it on the right horn. I was with M. hunting. He killed a deer and did this. I asked him why, and he said, 'For luck.'"

[4] This is the same supernatural character whose name was given before as Herus (see p. 198). The name is very unstable and has been recorded as Hados and Eyos as well.

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other man takes up the chase. Sometimes they rope the antelopes. Then they kill them by slitting them under the leg or throat where you have to cut anyway when skinning. 224

Then there is a surround in which mounted men participate:

When the herd is sighted, they scatter and approach it, making a big circle. Two or three men run in toward the antelopes and get them started. Then the circle closes in, and the hunters shoot or rope the animals. The men are about a hundred yards apart. Special horses, two-year-olds which are trained for hunting, are used.

Another animal which is occasionally hunted, but not as seriously as deer or antelopes, is the wapiti, or "American elk." These are few in number throughout some parts of the tribal territory (the Southern Chiricahua claim that there were none in most of their range), and the meat, perhaps because the people are less familiar with it, is not so greatly esteemed. The Central Chiricahua say that "there were plenty of elks" where they lived, however. Elk horns are too heavy to attach to masks, and informants say it is not necessary to use the heads anyway, for the elk "is not as smart as the deer and is easier to get." [262] [825]

The meat and the skins of the mountain sheep and the mountain goat are used when they can be procured. These animals are not numerous or easy to get, however, and are of limited importance in the economy.

Wood rats supplement the meat diet: 224 262

The Chiricahua hunt those big rats and eat them. Two men go to a nest. One pokes a stick in; the other waits at the other end and shoots when the rat comes out. For this they use a small arrow the same as is used for birds. It is all wood, with a sharpened point. When they get a good many rats, they pierce the legs and carry them home on poles over the shoulder. Sometimes to get them a person pokes into a hole and hits them with a stick when they come out. [411]

Opposums, considered "the best meat in the rat class," are found in Southern Chiricahua range and are shot with bows and arrows.

Cottontail rabbits are hunted and eaten, but for some reason many persons are reluctant to eat jack rabbits:

Many won't eat jack rabbit, though they will eat cottontail. I don't know why exactly. They say cottontail meat is better. It's between the taste and the looks.

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262 [825]

It is true that the old Chiricahua wouldn't eat fish. They say of fish, "They are slippery and slick just like snakes, and they are relatives to the snakes. They are relatives to the lizards and all the nasty ones." It looks just that way to them. And toads and frogs and tadpoles are classed with snakes. The Chiricahua wouldn't eat them. They never ate fish until they got to Fort Sill. Even now I don't like such things. I get a headache from them. I'm not used to such food, and it doesn't agree with my stomach.

I was up at the Ruidoso River for two years as a guard. I had to look at the passes, and those who didn't have the right ones I chased out. Those campers would bring fish to us every day. The fish were cleaned and fried. I would say to my wife, "Let's try it." We'd try a little, and then we'd have to throw it away. There were those poor fellows running themselves ragged every day trying to catch those fish, and here we were throwing them away just as soon as the people left! Even canned fish doesn't agree with me. My wife can't eat it either. There was no mention of sickness from fish though. I never heard any ceremonial songs about that. Many Indians eat fish now; they go around and fish. [753] [178]

A similar frame of mind is revealed in another account:

People did not fish when I was a boy. Fish was not eaten; it was not an Indian food in the old days. We classed fish with the snake and thought it could bite. We thought it could cause evil influence. There was no ceremony connected with it though. It is only since contact with the whites that fish is eaten. Formerly we had no separate names for different kinds of fish. [825] [177]

A younger man reaffirmed this last statement and added, "We younger people distinguish different kinds of fish. We call catfish 'fish with whiskers' and perch and bass 'fish without bones,' for instance." This young man went on to say: [825]

It is perhaps true that P.'s group might have eaten fish. They were nearer water. At Fort Sill (1894-1913) about one-third didn't eat fish still—this many at least. The old folks didn't care if the young people ate fish. I ate it. I could eat it right next to old men who didn't eat it, and they wouldn't scold. A father would not object if his son ate it, but he would object if his son ate bear meat.

It is undoubtedly true that, since fish is not so definitely an animal of "evil influence" as the bear or the coyote, its use as food is more likely to be left to individual taste. Nevertheless, if the incident that follows is taken as a guide, the young man probably underestimates the animus of many of the older people toward fish: [825]

The old people won't eat fish or pork. Some won't eat pork yet, and few will eat fish. If my mother eats a little pork, it makes her sick right away. She won't have fish around at all.

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262 Once my brother brought a can of sardines to camp. He was going to open it for lunch. My mother didn't know what he had and she brought out a plate for him to put them on. She asked him what it was. He didn't want to tell her. He held the can behind him. Then he brought it out and opened it up and spilled the fish on the plate my mother was holding. She looked at it. She didn't know what it was. It looked funny to her. She asked my brother, and he told her.

You know how those old people are. She gave a yell and threw it. It landed right in the lap of the old man. The old man just sat there and looked at it. The plate was lying there in the dirt. I nearly died laughing. My brother was angry. He said, "What did you throw them away for?" She said, "If you bring me something bad like that again, I'll throw it right in your face."

[825] "The frog is not eaten; it is classed with fish." "The frog is [826] classed as a snake. We do not eat it. If you do, it will make you walk like a cowboy [i.e., will make you bowlegged]." An in- [439] formant who apparently equates frogs with snakes said: "I killed frogs and sold them to the [American] soldiers, but I never ate them myself. There were eels in the creek near Fort Sill. B. used to catch them. The soldiers bought them, but the Indians wouldn't eat them."

One voice was raised in appreciation of frogs' legs as food. The Eastern Chiricahua informant, previously quoted, who claims that his people ate fish, added: "They ate frogs' legs too. The meat tastes like chicken and is good."

THE ECONOMIC INTEREST IN RAID AND WAR

721 433 For men, raiding approaches hunting in economic significance. In fact, these two pursuits may be said to be rival industries:

[224] The man who has a deer ceremony either does not go on raids or does not spend too much time on raids, so he will not lose his luck with deer. If you are too successful on raiding parties and bring back lots of booty, you become unlucky with deer; you don't see the deer and become a poor hunter.

This statement embodies a psychological and practical truism: The man who becomes engrossed in raid and war very likely has only limited time and interest to devote to the chase.

The raid is a recognized and integral aspect of the economy. [533] This finds expression in the songs. The words of a round-dance song, for instance, repeat: "The wagon goes along, they say,

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might agree that a stone pointing in a certain way will be a sign. Lines on the ground are also made to indicate which way they are turning on the trail. Dropping a stick in the direction in which you are traveling is another way. [726] [487]

The wolf howl may be simulated by the members of a scattered party. "The warriors would call to each other with the wolf howl. When the Mexicans were our enemies, we used to howl to each other in this way so that the enemy would not know who we were." [198] [825] [648]

The smoke signal, too, is used to some extent: [726] [202]

If a group agrees that when they get to a certain place they will make a smoke signal, the others watch for it. None is made except on agreement. It has to be used during the daytime. Sotol is used to make these smoke signals.

For signal smoke a fire is built, and damp wood and grass are put on; this makes a smoke that can be seen for great distances. Whenever the Chiricahua see smoke from a long distance, they know something is happening. The smoke always means something, usually that there are enemies or that there is an epidemic. If it means the first, the smoke is from a mountaintop. If it means sickness, it comes from a camp in the valley.

According to another informant, the smoke signal can be used to determine whether members of an approaching group are friends or foes:

If one party of men sees another in the distance, it lights a fire to the right of it and sends up one column of smoke. This means, "Who are you?" If the other group builds a fire to its right and sends up one column of smoke it means, "We are Chiricahua and friends." To send up the smoke, they put wet grass on the fire and throw a rock on top. The weight of the rock makes the fire burn fast. Then you scatter the fire quickly to stop the smoke.

Finally, the smoke signal serves to acquaint the home camp of the war party's safety:

If, when the warriors leave, they are not certain at just what time they are coming back, the people who are left behind must look for smoke at a certain mountain or canyon that they name. These people have to have a scout looking for this smoke. For instance, they say they will be back in fifteen days. The days pass, and they are not back. Then those left behind look for smoke from that day on at the place they mentioned.

After the introduction of the mirror, some use was made of it for signaling in times of strife: [177]

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262 Ceremonial considerations, too, govern the consumption of eggs, particularly for women:

[842] We always ate eggs. Some women won't eat eggs for fear of getting children, however. But this is according to the shaman's directions. We eat the eggs of the quail and duck.

252 262 Those who do eat eggs prefer them boiled or roasted in hot ashes:

Some people eat the eggs of the quail, the duck, and other birds. A good many quail eggs are found together. The eggs are boiled, or a fire is made, the ashes are pushed aside, the eggs are put in there, and the ashes are put back over them.

Most meat is prepared by broiling over an open fire or by boiling, though some of it is pit baked. In the common broiling processes the meat is suspended over the coals with a stick held in the hand, or it is placed on top of the hot coals and turned at intervals. Sometimes it is cooked by placing it on a flat rock which borders a hot fire, while another rock, lying perpendicular to the first, holds in the heat. The most choice portion of meat is the fat part "on top of the ribs" next to the skin.

The favorite method of cooking wood rats, rabbits, and prairie dogs is to bury them in hot ashes before skinning them, and then to skin and eviscerate them when they are well roasted. But one informant, in describing how rabbits may be cooked, said: "Throw the whole rabbit on the coals. When it is partly cooked, take it off, skin it, take out the insides, and put it back on the coals to finish." Rats are sometimes skinned and cleaned before being roasted in hot coals. Wood rats and rabbits are also boiled, but this is a less popular mode of preparation.

Mountain lion or peccary meat, when it is prepared for those who will eat it, is roasted or boiled in the same manner as deer, antelope, or elk meat.

For those who have no aversion to eating any part of the head, it is cooked in a heap of hot coals or is steam baked in a small pit: "My people put the deer head in the fire, cover it with ashes, and let it cook. They break the eyes first. That is their way. It is done for good luck." The pit-baking method resembles the way in which mescal is prepared:

[825] [777]

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[11] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[11] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

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bound on the shaft with wet sinew. Sometimes a little piñon pitch is applied to the shaft at the point where the sinew will cross. 411 [314]

One feather is put on at a time, and the tops of the feathers are affixed to the shaft first. The first feather is held in place, and the sinew is wound around its top and the shaft once. The second feather is put in position and secured at the top with one strand of sinew also. Now the third feather is put in place, and the sinew is wound around it and the shaft many times. Then the arrow is put aside that the sinew may dry and tighten. When the craftsman is ready to resume work, he fastens the bottoms of the feathers to the shaft with sinew.

Flint arrowheads are used when they can be found. There is very little chipping of arrowheads. A single informant speaks of pounding slate and using the most likely pieces for arrowheads. Another, an Eastern Chiricahua, tells of seeing "flints used as arrowheads and one rock used to shape and chip another" during his youth. But the majority of commentators agree that their tribesman made no consistent attempt to manufacture flint arrowheads: 411 324

> The pieces of flint are found already shaped. The legend goes that the animals and the birds made them and used them in the fight against each other for daylight. [173] [825]

> The Chiricahua did not make stone arrowheads and beads. They found them. There were many of them in their country. They can be found in anthills there, the hills of the red ants. White shell beads are found there too.

> The arrowheads we have are found. They are said to have been made by a people who lived here before the Apache. . . . . These people are called the "ancient people" [Pueblo]. I don't think these people were here even in the memory of the old men. It must have been before that. [172]

Fine long blades and points found throughout the tribal range are also considered by some to be arrows of the Thunder People. [176]

When flints are to be affixed, the shaft is split, the arrowhead is inserted, and the shaft is tightly wrapped with moistened sinew. More commonly, however, no flint is used; the wooden tip of the arrow is simply sharpened and fire hardened. Often the arrow is fluted. With a sharp stone, the arrow-maker scratches 411

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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THE ROUND OF LIFE

THE economic, ceremonial, and social practices which have been described provide a framework within which members of the tribe move. But the full reality is something more. The individual pauses to enjoy the result of his efforts, seeks to earn the good opinion of his neighbors, pays visits to his friends, and attempts to find satisfaction and laughter. His days are filled with many minor adjustments to other human beings. And all these responses are guided by a body of understandings and etiquette.

CAMP LIFE AND ETIQUETTE

Every encampment of any size, especially when there is any suspicion of danger, has a guard at night. The lookout "is not especially chosen. It is just anyone who feels like it and is willing to do it. There is no organization about it." When information concerning the enemy's movements demands that near-by groups of tribesmen be notified, "fast runners are sent" with the message. If the distance is great, the messenger rides a horse, because "horses are hardier and don't get hungry or thirsty soon."

When the people move from a camp site, certain precautions must be taken:

> The fire pit is covered up neatly, and the brush beds are gathered up and put in a neat pile. They say that, if you leave the camp just as it was in use and simply pick up your blankets and go, the coyote, the crow, and other harmful animals and birds may come and urinate or defecate on the place. Then, because everything is arranged just as it was when it was occupied, the person it belongs to will be affected wherever he is.

A different reason for the care taken in breaking camp was offered by another informant:

> When moving camp, the mattresses of grass, leaves, and branches are brought together and put all in one pile. The beds are not left as they were when they

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526 773 [825] The hoop-and-pole game was handed down from the animals when they were people. They used to play it. The hoop-and-pole game comes from the four-footed animals like the bear [i.e., the dangerous ones] and also from the snake. During the time the snakes were people they made the game. In ceremonies the pole is referred to as a snake. This is done in the snake ceremony.

526 571 [521] The hoop-and-pole ground is as much a meeting place where masculine concerns are discussed and planned as it is a field of play. Here the men come together in easy companionship, free of the inhibitions imposed by the presence of women. It is little wonder that one commentator declared, "The hoop-and-pole ground is like a pool hall." An air of informality and good humor pervades the scene, and much jesting and story-telling are always in progress.

526 534 Often musical instruments, such as the musical bow, are played at this spot:

There is something we do around the hoop-and-pole game. A man takes a bow, just the regular fighting bow, and tightens it up. He puts one end in his mouth and hits the string with an arrow. Men enjoy doing this and are interested in it. They can make a sound like Chiricahua songs. A man can do this anywhere, but you see it mostly at the hoop-and-pole ground when the men are by themselves and enjoying themselves.

534 [526] Another musical instrument, made and played by men, is frequently seen at the hoop-and-pole ground, although it is not limited in use to this place. This is the "wood that sings" or the Apache fiddle,[9] a hollow wooden cylinder about twelve to eighteen inches long with one sinew string stretched over its surface. The bow is approximately the same length and is strung with horsehair. A single peg controls the tension and pitch of the

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[903] the point was not yet decided, they devised this game and played, but still neither could win, for their power was equally strong. The people took it up and still play it, but consider it sacred."

Two other informants who were consulted, however, claimed to know nothing about a relation between the game and its parts and the snake.

[197] [9] It is certain that these "violins" are modeled after stringed instruments introduced into the region by Europeans, but they have been made by the men of this tribe for some time now. One of the oldest members, a skilful maker of these instruments, stated: "We made it from the oldest times. I think it was the Chiricahua's own invention because it was common in my boyhood."

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painted sides of the other staves fall uppermost. If the long stave crosses the center of the rock, it counts one hundred; if it stays on the rock but is at either side of the center, it is worth but fifty. Of the other staves, the yellow one counts twelve points if the painted side shows, six if the unpainted surface is up. The others earn an agreed amount if the painted surfaces face upward, but score nothing if the plain surfaces show. This game can be played by men or women but, like the others, is most often played by the women.

More tradition, song, and ceremony center around the moccasin game than about any other form of adult recreation. It is the only game with which a major myth is connected; it was the game played in the beginning of the world at the Mogollon Mountains when the birds were pitted against the four-footed animals and monsters to determine whether there should be daylight. The manner in which the game is conducted now is intended to be a faithful duplication of that first contest.

The moccasin game is played only in the winter and only at night, until daybreak. If they play beyond daybreak, they have to paint their faces black. The story of the first moccasin game is told just at night and in winter. They say, "If you tell this story in summer, you will see bad animals like the rattlesnake." You have to be careful about the songs of the game too. You can't sing them in the summertime, for a snake will bite you if you do. In the wintertime you can sing them in the day or at night. In the winter there are no snakes around; that's why.

Even snow has a song in the moccasin game. The people don't like to hear the snow song before the real cold weather. It brings snow, they think. They got after me because I sang it the other day.

Men and women join to make an exciting occasion of the game. Arrangements for playing it are informal. "If I wanted to have that game tonight, I'd say to someone, 'Let's play the moccasin game tonight.' I'd get my friends, and he'd get his. Each man wants to have good singers."

To play the game the members of the two teams gather and face each other on opposite sides of a fire that has been kindled at a level place. Each of the groups arranges a row of four "moccasins" in which the bone is to be hidden. "We usually do not use real moccasins for this game but just make four holes. After

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181 In comparison to himself many natural forces seemed
182 unaccountably potent. Cyclones uprooted trees and left him
82 terror-stricken. The lightning struck and devastated. The sun shone strongly and the plants everywhere renewed life. The Apache saw himself at the mercy of all these forces. He recognized, moreover, how little he could accomplish by himself without the aid of the plants and animals which surrounded him. If the choke-cherry bush did not yield wood for arrows he was defenseless and unable to hunt. If the deer could not be found he lacked clothing and meat.

181 In addition, the traits he shared with other animals
182 did not pass unnoticed for the Apache. He watched many of
825 them prey on others as he was forced to do. He saw them seek food and shelter and fiercely protect their young. That comfortable gap which we have left between ourselves and all other life on the planet, the Apache bridged in a stride.

773 Apache mythology harkens back to a time when all
824 creatures and objects could speak and move and showed
825 human attributes. Later, everything was given its "way"
182 and was differentiated from the human. But the qualities and capacities which these creatures and objects exercised in the mythological period, persist in them today in latent form. In the eyes of the Apache the natural world is potentially alive and aware of his problems. Trees, plants, animals, and insects do not ordinarily speak and assume human form, but if an Apache's need is extreme and he is worthy, any one of these may take pity on him and approach him thus to give him the requisite warning and advice.

182 Therefore the Apache, whether he is praying, or hunt-
824 ing, or acting the craftsman, is not dealing with dumb ani-
825 mals and inanimate plants as the white man would have it, but is concerned with natural objects which know well his intentions, how to thwart the impious and to reward the deserving. These animals and plants are thought to be willing to help the Apache and give of their seeds, fruit, hide, or meat—providing they are approached in the correct manner, with proper attention to rules and ritual which have existed from the time "the earth was new."

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821 784 776 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restrictions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects displayed during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

• 825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 224 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat 825 224 784 before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the [264] hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

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262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish.
[177] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver,
[224] muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were
223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men
[223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

224
596 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it
[526] first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

224
736 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

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Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure in Chiricahua or Mescalero Apache ritual, belief or myth except in one instance, where there is an association between the growing crop and the cricket. Crickets are placed around the field and prayers are addressed to them to help the crops grow. The Mescalero put a live cricket with the seed to be planted and take care not to kill a cricket lest their crops be reduced. 241 825 [796] [773]

Informants reported that their maize was blue and red mixed and that they never had either pure yellow or pure blue varieties. Samples of maize grown at present on the Mescalero reservation are mixed blue and white. Also in an old parfleche purchased from a Mescalero Indian were found dried maize kernels which were represented by informants as the type grown formerly by the Mescalero. Mr. Volney Jones, of the Ethnobiological Laboratory of the University of Michigan, reporting by correspondence upon these grains said: "It is of a type which is grown by some of the Pueblo Indians but is very much smaller. The type is intermediate between flint and dent, having the flinty or hard consistency of flint corn but the grain shape of dent corn with only a slight tendency to dent." 243 137

Maize was usually cooked like mescal, in an underground oven, by the Mescalero. Wood was first burned to hot ashes in the pit, then the whole ears were sprinkled with water and thrown in. They were next covered with grass and dirt and cooked over night, after which they were removed and stored, husk and all, and did not mould. When desired for a meal the ears were boiled and were said to taste like fresh maize. 252 [251]

Another method of preparation was to roast the ears as described above, cut off the grains, and dry them, and store them in sacks until ready for use. The Chiricahua informants claimed that they did not roast maize in underground ovens although they saw the Navahos do it. [251]

Maize was also dried on the cob. All except two husks were removed. Then it was dried in the sun by tying these two husks together and hanging the ears up on strings or on trees. 251

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[5]

5. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (20).

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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Chiricahua

756 778 787 825 A real shaman is one who considers that something talks to him, that he has a ceremony through sun, moon, star, lightning, or cyclone. I hear many say this. I said to one woman, "I hear you are a shaman." "Yes," she said, "the horse gives me power to do supernatural things. The one who speaks to me, the horse, lays down the rules." Some people, when they say "the one who speaks to me," may be talking of the spider, the deer, or the coyote. Geronimo sang coyote songs and had curing power from Coyote.

778 825 787 Power is obtained from all the different animals and birds, from the coyote, cattle, horse, and other things. They all have songs and they all have ceremonies. The Chiricahua get power from Crow, Eagle, Humming Bird, Cardinal, and other birds too. They used to say that power talked to them all the time, but you don't hear that so much now. Wolf power makes you strong. Bear power makes you strong too. Some get power from the sun and moon also. When you get it from these you can see all over the world, they say. These shine on everything in the world; that's why. And Morning Star and Evening Star are great things too, they say.

821 778

In the old times there were those who believed they had power from the stars, moon, sun, wind, and clouds. Many believed that these are the best source of power. People can get power from the whirlwind too; the whirlwind has life. All these things are prayed to, and pollen is thrown to them by those who know them. All the stars that are recognized are thought of as personalities, embodying someone who has supernatural power.

[782]

821 825 778 A person can get power from the snake, deer, eagle, hawks, and insects with a stinger. Power also comes from the sun, moon, stars, wind, thunder, and Mountain People, and even from small animals and bugs and ants.

Power can come from lightning, thunder, horse, bear, fox, snake, wind, sun, star, rain, Water Monster, Controller of Water, eagle, crow, insects, owl, and everything you can think of.

Sometimes the power takes the form of an animal . . . a horse, a deer, an antelope, a bear, or any other animal that has four legs, such as a coyote. The deer has life; the horse has life . . .

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

"Live around here. I will be around here with your daughter. One day when you go to war I will be by your side, but you won't see me. If you see a crow fly, it will be I. If you see a coyote, it will be I. If you want to go to war or on a raid, come here first and even if I am not here, talk, and I will be here. Tell me where you are going and ask my advice. Go home. The next day I will draw a picture of what you will get. I will draw deer tracks, horse tracks, and show where you are going to get them. If you see cattle or horse tracks, it means you will get plenty."

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

Immunity from some of the ordinary perils is another of the benefits which usually accompanies shamanism.

Some men use hawk feathers for arrows, but some are afraid. You have to know power to do it. Only a hawk shaman would do it. It's the same with the buzzard. Not everybody could use the feathers. Formerly the Chiricahua could get very sick from the buzzard.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

The principal function and attribute of the possessor of a power grant, however, is to cure sickness, and the Chiricahua who is able to practice an effective curing ceremony earns respect and even riches.

When I was a boy, a good shaman was highly respected. These are the ones who are known to have kind hearts and that nobody calls witches. A good shaman is wealthy, for he's out curing and everybody gives him something for his cures.

If sickness strikes and special knowledge and ceremony are required, a shaman is hired. It is accepted that he or one of his fellow ceremonialists will, through the cooperation of supernatural power, learn the cause of the difficulty and the proper course of action. The service of supernatural power may range from producing a simple herbal remedy to revealing the identity of a sorcerer.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
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he comes. These articles have to be given to the shaman if the cure is to be a success. They are given before the ceremony really gets started. Pollen, turquoise, abalone, feathers, white shells, and a black-handled knife are among the objects which may be needed.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

Whether or not he expects all of them as ceremonial payment, the shaman has a variety of ritual paraphernalia and substances on hand to be used in the ceremony: some combination of pollen, eagle feathers, abalone, turquoise, unblemished buckskin, animal parts, baskets, designed clothing, specular iron ore, a carved and designed cane or staff, yellow ochre, various other paints, plants, and medicines. The attitude toward some of these sacred substances and objects and the manner in which they are used are detailed thus by informants:

In my ceremony I use tule pollen at sunrise. The next night I use piñon pollen. The third morning at sunrise I use pollen from pine. The fourth day at noon I use sunflower pollen. All shamans use pollen. It stands for life and health. In a ceremony I saw Geronimo perform, he used pollen to make signs to the directions and then put the pollen in the sick man's mouth. He made crosses of pollen on the man's head, chest, right shoulder, back, and left shoulder.

Abalone has life. It has lots of good. Everything good is in it. Many shamans use it. Many of them say that without it they cannot carry on their ceremonies. When it is real blue inside it is male. This is the most powerful kind. When it is not the good color, when it is greyish, it is female. For my ceremony I polish the outside and use the scrapings for medicine. It is good for any kind of pain anywhere. It is also a protection against witches. I put some in medicine to cure lightning sickness too.[2]

[2] It is interesting to note that while abalone shell contrasts with turquoise, the representative of the male principle in Chiricahua religion, and stands for the female principle, abalone which is bluish inside is called "male" and abalone which is pinkish or whitish is termed "female." Evidently the alternation in both instances is due to a color-sex association, blue for male and a light color (pink, white, grey) for female.